

JPRS 79697

21 DECEMBER 1981

Latin America Report

No. 2419



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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21 December 1981

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URUGUAYAN DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER SPEAKS AT OAS MEETING

PY080029 Paris AFP in Spanish 1750 GMT 5 Dec 81

[Text] Castries, 5 Dec (AFP)--Filiberto Ginzo Gil, Uruguayan deputy foreign minister, has declared that the OAS has all the instruments to preserve continental peace and security and to end hemispheric disputes or aggressions.

To that effect, Ginzo Gil mentioned the mechanism of the foreign ministers' consultative meetings, but he pointed out that his country is a staunch partisan of noninterference in the internal or external affairs of other states.

The deputy minister said that the planned special General Assembly on development cooperation is an ever more undelayable event to reorganize and review OAS procedures and methods in its area of jurisdiction.

Ginzo Gil also said that development and security are two closely linked concepts and that it can be asserted that in the application of the principles of nonintervention and self-determination there can be no sort of development without the existence of security.

He remarked that Uruguay has repeatedly expressed its aspiration to renew and revitalize the inter-American system through the strengthening of development cooperation.

He concluded that in order to achieve this it is necessary that the OAS start operating again as a permanent forum for information exchange, consultations and negotiations.

CSO: 3010/449

PERUVIAN PAPER INTERVIEWS SALVADORAN LABOR MINISTER

PY101630 Paris AFP in Spanish 0421 GMT 10 Dec 81

[Text] Lima, 9 Dec (AFP)--Julio Samayoa, the president of the Salvadoran Christian Democratic Party [PDC] and present labor minister, has asserted that the Salvadoran Government has the situation under military control and that, therefore, elections will be held in March as scheduled.

Interviewed in Caracas by the Lima leftist newspaper EL DIARIO, the politician denied that there is a civil war in his country adding that there are rebel groups that have no possibility of achieving power or of carrying out active guerrilla activity in the capital city.

He noted that the rebels have the support of foreign governments, of the international socialists, and of the Communist Party, but that in turn the civilian-military government has the support of Christian Democratic governments, of the United States, Costa Rica and the FRG, among others.

Samoyoa added that his government rejects all foreign intervention in the domestic affairs of El Salvador noting that neither the United States, the Soviet Union, Cuba or Nicaragua have the right to meddle in Salvadoran national issues.

After noting that although the victory over the rebels will be a matter of months, defeat of terrorism will take longer, the Salvadoran politician said that the government has complete control over the nation, so much so that martial law has been repealed and the state of siege will be lifted soon.

He also said the political parties have drafted an electoral law to be issued this week that will reorganize the Central Electoral Council, which will be made up of persons not involved with any political trends.

After reasserting that his government does not negotiate with rebels, who are a minority group representing only 5,000 persons, he noted that the insurgency has caused a great economic loss; 10,000 casualties in the army and 400 in the PDC militia.

CSO: 3010/479

INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

CHILE, URUGUAYAN AGREEMENT--Chilean Foreign Minister Rene Rojas Galdames and the Uruguayan charge d'affaires today exchanged notes approving the agreement on health regulations signed in Montevideo on 26 September 1981. [Santiago Chile Diplomatic Information Service in Spanish 0008 GMT 19 Nov 81]

CSO: 5400/2058

WEEKLY NEWSPAPER VIEWS ELECTIONS

PY100256 Sao Paulo VEJA in Portuguese 2 Dec 81 pp 28-30

[Text] The electoral package has caused profound changes in all of the 22 Brazilian states.

The Social Democratic Party [PDS] has in the above package the most effective, far-reaching campaigner for the 1982 election. In some states where the PDS victory is already guaranteed--for instance, in Bahia--the PDS victory will be by a far larger margin due to the package. In other states, like in Ceara, the opposition was suddenly razed from the map. As a result of the package, the PDS will have a sure victory in 11 states. Similarly, states in which the odds were clearly favorable to the opposition are now experiencing a balance of forces--and, among the large states, Minas Gerais and Pernambuco are good examples of this change. In sum, the opposition can no longer feel safe anywhere in the country because it will be confronted with a party with 3,600 organized boards and nearly 3,300 mayors throughout the country. The Brazilian electoral trends have been redesigned as follows as a result of the new rules:

Acre

The Brazilian Democratic Mobilization Party [PMDB] has lost the slight edge which, until last week, its candidate, federal deputy Nabor Junior, had enjoyed. To support the PDS candidate, Governor Joaquim Macedo will mobilize primarily the mayors of the 12 municipalities of the state, all of whom have been appointed by him.

Alagoas

Alagoas' new governor will be deputy Divaldo Suruagy, who no longer faces the threat of PDS deputies supporting the candidacy of PMDB Senator Teotonio Vilela.

Amazonas

With a good following, former governor Gilberto Mestrino continues to be the favorite but he will have to preserve the strength of his Popular Party [PP]. The PDS controls all 44 mayoral seats in the state and 90 percent of the councilmen, all of which enhances the chances of the candidate to be picked by Governor Jose Lindoso.

Bahia

The election of Cleriston Andrade, president of the State Bank, which was already guaranteed, will now become just a routine matter. Combining its good functioning and the effects of the package, the PDS of Bahia State will obtain the largest victory in the country. It could elect up to 80 percent of the federal and state deputies and 90 percent of mayors and councilmen.

Ceara

The attempt made by PMDB candidate Senator Mauro Benevides to reach an agreement with PDS Adauto Bezerra has now been foiled. Bezerra had threatened to lend to the opposition the votes of mayors and councilmen who are loyal to his group. Governor Virgilio Tavora will have no problems in having his special adviser Aecio de Borba elected. Tavora wants to become a senator.

Espirito Santo

Already shaken by the defeat of the proposal to establish "intraparty subgroups" [sublegendas], former governor Elcio Alvares, of the PDS, may now suffer a fatal drawback: without the support of Governor Eurico Rezende, Alvares has been speculating with reaching intraparty agreements if he were not elected at the convention. The PMDB will have difficulties in finding a candidate for the gubernatorial seat.

Goiias

Since only two parties actually exist in the state--the PDS and the PMDB--the situation has not changed there: opposition candidate Iris Resende, a former mayor of Goiania, continues to be the favorite. The Workers Party [PT] which is just starting in Goias State, will perhaps nominate a candidate but will not have sufficient votes to pose a threat to the powerful PMDB.

Maranhao

If he wants to, Senator Jose Sarney will easily return to the government. The PP and the PT, with one federal deputy each, are confronting the risk of disappearing from the Maranhao political scene.

Mato Grosso

The PDS, which is much stronger in the interior of the state than former governor Garcia Neto's PP and Father Raimundo Pombo's PMDB, will elect federal deputy Julio Campos rather easily. Ambassador Roberto Campos has also just secured himself a senatorial seat.

MATO Grosso do Sul

Deputy Levy Dias made a good move when he left the PMDB and joined the ranks of Governor Pedro Pedrossian's PDS. If Pedrossian complies with his part of the deal and gives him his support, Levy will be supported by hundreds of campaign

workers of the interior who, despite being PDS members, were considering an agreement with the PP of senators Saldanha Derzi and Mendes Canale.

Minas Gerais

The National Democratic Union [UDN] and the Social Democratic Party [PSD] are now definitely defunct: neither will Governor Francelino Pereira now have the support of former UDN members who had joined the PP nor will Senator Tancredo Neves have the support of former PSD members who had joined the PDS. Tancredo has suffered a hard blow. In addition to losing votes to the PMDB and the PT, he will have to face a strong adversary. While the PP and the PDS have organized boards practically throughout the state, the ruling party has 642 mayors against only 70 for Tancredo's party. If the election were, in fact based on municipalities [municipalizada], as proposed by the government, Tancredo's candidacy would be destroyed.

Para

The PDS mayors linked to Governor Alacid Nunes will have to vote for the candidates appointed by Senator Jarbas Passarinho, who controls the party--to the misfortune of the "pro-Alacid" deputies who had joined the PMDB and of deputy Jader Barbalho, the opposition candidate to the government.

Paraiba

Closing ranks around the candidacy of deputy Wilson Braga, the PDS watches the embittered desolation of PP deputy Antonio Mariz, who early this week had been celebrating the conclusion of an agreement with the PMDB whereby the latter would appoint candidates for vice governor and senator.

Parana

The candidacies of former Governor Jayme Canet, of the PP; and of deputy Paulo Pimentel, of the PTB [Brazilian Labor Party] were heavily affected by the package since neither party will have sufficient time to become consolidated. The election will be decided between PMDB senator Jose Richa and PDS Governor Ney Braga, both with deeply rooted ties in the entire state. Ney has already received the go ahead to mobilize the party's machinery to promote his candidate, Saul Raiz.

Piaui

Former Governor Alberto Silva has come out a loser. His PP has only a mayor and two seats at the assembly against 110 PDS mayors and 18 deputies. Governor Lucidio Portella, who will be able to pick his candidate without fear of any eventual support of dissatisfied sectors for Alberto Silva, has come out a winner.

Pernambuco

Governor Marco Antonio Maciel now believes that it will be possible for the PDS to defeat Senator Marcos Freire, the PMDB candidate--who was until last week the head of a broad front which was dismantled by the package. Former governor Cid Sampaio, who was negotiating with Freire for a senatorial seat in exchange for the PP's support, will now have to settle for a seat in the Chamber of

Deputies. To make Freire's complications worse, Governor Maciel will run for the senatorial seat and will thus markedly reinforce the PDS slate.

Rio Grande do Norte

The chances of Natal mayor Jose Agripino Maia--who is supported by Governor Lavoisier Maia--have improved. Yet, former governor Aluizio Alves, of the PP, who enjoys great personal prestige, is still in the race. Senator Dinarte Mariz, who broke with the Maias and had been making contacts with the opposition, will have to retire to his Solidao Ranch.

Rio Grande do Sul

PMDB Senator Pedro Simon was surprised by the package as he was getting ready to negotiate an agreement with former governor Sinval Guazzelli, of the PP. Guazzelli will now have to run for a seat in the Chamber of Deputies but Simon, who dreamed of uniting the Rio Grande do Sul opposition forces, will have to contend with deputy Alceu Collares' Workers Democratic Party. The PDS of Governor Amaral de Souza is the party which will benefit from the splintering of opposition votes.

Rio de Janeiro

Governor Chagas Freitas, who controls through the PP more than 70 percent of the 63 municipalities of the state, will now be able to pick his successor at will. This could be damaging to his presumed heir, federal deputy Miro Teixeira, since the PP no longer needs a highly popular candidate to win the gubernatorial seat. Sandra Cavalcanti's PTB has also lost its chances.

Santa Catarina

After losing its chances of securing an intraparty subgroup [sublegenda] for deputy Pedro Ivo and another for Senator Jaison Barreto, the PMDB has now lost the support of PP Senator Evelasio Vieira. This is good for the PDS, which has deputy Esperidiao Amin and former governor Antonio Carlos Konder Reis, who are very strong in the state, among its possible candidates.

Sao Paulo

This is the only state where the package could have disastrous effects for the ruling party. Despite the opposition being divided, Senator Montoro's PMDB is very strong in medium-sized and large cities where a major part of the Sao Paulo electorate resides. In smaller cities which are exposed to Montoro's campaigning and driven by the expectations elicited by the promotion of his candidacy, electors may choose to vote basically for him as governor--and naturally, for the candidates who are listed on his slate. This phenomenon could markedly change the estimation in which the PDS appears with almost 500 mayors and the PMDB with nearly 100.

Sergipe

Governor Augusto Franco will pick the candidate of his choice--probably Antonio Valadares, the PMDB will nominate former governor Seixas Doria, who does not have the charisma needed to lead to victory a party with only 4 deputies and less than 10 mayors in the entire state. Augusto Franco wants a seat in the senate.

CSO: 3001/47

ATILA, ABI-ACKEL INTERVIEWED ON ELECTORAL REFORM BILL

Atila: 'Electoral Reform Nonnegotiable'

Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 28 Nov 81 p 3

[Interview with Presidential Press Secretary Carlos Atila in Rio de Janeiro on 27 November: "Atila: Government Considers Electoral Reform Nonnegotiable"; name of interviewer not given]

[Text] Presidential Press Secretary Carlos Atila said yesterday in Rio de Janeiro that the electoral reform bill to be sent to Congress by President Joao Figueiredo "is not open to any negotiation.

"In essence, the decision made by the president of the republic is a closed issue. The bill that will embody these decisions is to be the result of agreements, initially within the PDS [Social Democratic Party] and possibly in Congress. But the rules established by the president will not be negotiated in any manner."

In an interview after a memorial service for victims of the 1935 Communist Revolt, Carlos Atila reiterated that the electoral reform bill has the purpose of "strengthening the multiparty system." And he added:

"Solution of major national problems must be through political means and will be possible only if there is cohesion, consistency and coherence in party life. Without strong parties that are representative of the main currents of public opinion, we will not have democracy in Brazil."

Regarding a possible obstruction of voting procedures in Congress, announced by the opposition as a reprisal against electoral reform, the president's spokesman said:

"If the opposition were indeed to cause obstruction, it would show a shortsighted point of view and adherence to their own interests, ignoring the national interest.

Interview

The interview with Carlos Atila was as follows:

[Question] Has the government decided to call Congress into special session to vote on the electoral reform bill?

[Answer] The government's first concern is to write the bill that will embody the decision made by the president about the 1982 elections. Only after the bill is written will the government decide whether to call a special session of Congress. Next week we will definitely announce when the bill will be sent to Congress.

[Question] Will merger of the opposition parties, if it occurs, contribute to political liberalization?

[Answer] I don't see why such a merger would take place. The government thinks there should be a number of parties corresponding to the major currents of public opinion. The constitution provides that a party, to be permitted to function, must have at least 5 percent of the electorate, distributed over at least nine states, and with a minimum of 3 percent of the votes in each state. Hence, under the constitutional rule, parties that really represent public opinion will be organized. The rules established by the president aim to strengthen the multiparty system.

[Question] Is it possible that there will be another measure specifically prohibiting merger among parties?

[Answer] As far as I know, this is not being considered.

[Question] Won't linked voting create restrictions for the voter?

[Answer] I don't think so. There are rules for everything. We are in a process of transforming Brazilian institutional organization in regard to election rules. We are changing from a two-party system to a multiparty system and suddenly we are faced with a situation that could completely destroy the parties. To the extent that parties are purely election-time alliances, frequently associated with regional interests, the representativeness of Congress is jeopardized.

This would make debate and discussion of major problems of national interest unfeasible. The government's major concern is to establish the minimum conditions to really strengthen the representativeness of the political parties. And note that the constitutional rules are flexible and democratic, reconciling the representativeness of the parties at the state level as well as at the federal level. We cannot return to having, as we once had, 12 or 15 parties that did not represent anything, but created tremendous confusion in alliances of candidates for elections. We have the example of other countries in which decisions about great national problems are unfeasible due to the multiplicity of parties and formation of coalitions of all types, which transform politics into a game of chess that is impossible to follow.

[Question] According to the opposition, the president's liberalization image is finished, in view of the electoral reform package. What do you think of this?

[Answer] I think it is a very hasty judgment. We have to wait for elections; these will be the real test. The comments I hear from the man on the street are that we must have a strengthened democracy, with a minimum of discipline so we can deal with the big issues of public interest. And the problem of inflation, the cost of living, projects to create employment, controlling the deficit in the balance of payments. These are the problems of Brazilian society. These matters must be settled through political solutions that will be possible only if there is cohesion, consistency and coherence in party activities, which is the basis for representative democracy.

[Question] How does the government view obstruction of procedures in the Senate, which the opposition is threatening to engage in again?

[Answer] It accomplishes nothing. If the opposition really creates such obstruction it will be demonstrating a shortsighted point of view and adherence to their own interests, ignoring the real aspirations of the nation.

[Question] The opposition argument is that the electoral package clearly benefits the PDS.

[Answer] How can that be, when the rules are the same for everyone? Of course, the PDS is the majority party and it intends to remain so. But there are no rules that establish certain electoral rules for the PDS and others for the opposition.

[Question] But what they are saying is that these rules benefit the PDS.

[Answer] The PDS is the majority party and it intends to remain the majority party. If the rules benefit it, it is a mere coincidence, not the purpose.

[Question] Why did the government break off negotiations with the opposition?

[Answer] Because the opposition was continually trying to impose new conditions and new requirements. In fact, a bill that wasn't even under discussion, such as the one granting statehood to Rondonia, was obstructed by the opposition which created a series of obstacles in order to get further concessions.

[Question] But the justice minister reached an agreement with the opposition parties.

[Answer] Absolutely. The justice minister always established as a condition for the agreements subsequent consultation with Planalto Palace. He arrived at a preliminary understanding that will, of course, be submitted to the president for final approval. The minister was a negotiator in constant touch with Planalto Palace.

More Details from Abi-Ackel

Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 28 Nov 81 p 3

[Interview with Justice Minister Ibrahim Abi-Ackel in Manaus on 27 November by reporters at Eduardo Gomes Airport: "Abi-Ackel Rejects Alternative of Resubmitting Bill for Multicandidate Slates"]

Text Manaus--Justice Minister Ibrahim Abi-Ackel said yesterday he "rejects the possibility" of the government trying to negotiate

extension of multicandidate slates to gubernatorial elections in exchange for giving up its proposal for linked voting--an idea being studied by opposition politicians.

The justice minister explained, in an interview when he landed at Eduardo Gomes Airport, that it was he who suggested to President Joao Figueiredo the impossibility of conducting negotiations about electoral reform in view of the existing impasse.

"And it was because of the impasse that the president, in exercise of his function as head of the government and his responsibility for the liberalization process, recommended to our party the measures that by now are common knowledge," he added.

In his view, merger of opposition parties--arising as a reaction to linked voting and prohibition of coalitions--"does not depend on the government; it depends on the opposition parties." He argued, however, that the proposal of merger is "proof of the strength of the PDS," since five opposition parties intend to unite in order to oppose it.

During the afternoon Abi-Ackel received the title of citizen of Amazonas from the state legislature. He also met with Governor Jose Lindoso and, in the evening, with PDS leaders at party headquarters.

Interview

The interview with Justice Minister Abi-Ackel was as follows:

[Question] Is the president's decision to prohibit party coalitions, greatly extend linked voting and prevent election of former labor leaders part of his liberalization policy?

[Answer] Look, I want to be just as pleasant as possible with you. To a certain extent, you journalists and we politicians are colleagues. We must account to the public. But your question mixes up entirely different things, so that I will have to separate your question into what belongs in it and what does not belong. It is not at all true that the government has proposed to the opposition punishment of labor leaders. What happened was exactly the opposite: my proposal, made on behalf of the government, was to limit the time of ineligibility contained in the law, which, as it now reads, is a kind of permanent punishment. Hence, our proposal to set a time limit was a liberalizing measure intended to prevent labor leaders affected by intervention in the unions they lead remaining permanently barred from running for office. So I am correcting what seems to me is an error in the question. In respect to linked voting, it has been seen as a limitation of free movement of democratic forces. When this statement is made, it is forgotten that linked voting benefits the person directly interested in the election, the voter. With linked voting the people now have a larger number of candidates for elective offices among which to choose.

[Question] Isn't the government, by doing this, running the risk of causing elimination of what are considered small parties? And wouldn't this hamper the nation's return to democracy?

[Answer] No, just the opposite. We have a multiparty system. But that does not require existence of parties that don't express currents of public opinion with a broad national base. Provided the party reaches the size required to function as such, linked voting causes it no harm.

[Question] If the opposition should form a united front, would the government be willing to accept it or would it take other measures?

[Answer] Now, that is just a conjecture. In fact, there are several conjectures combined in one question and I would rather discuss facts.

[Question] The church says it is not concerned about the technical process, as long as the election is honest. What is your opinion?

[Answer] We want honest elections. And the government will make sure they are honest and aboveboard. Everyone wants honest elections.

[Question] Won't the president's recommendation to the PDS that it consider the matter closed be an obstacle on the road to freedom that Congress has been taking in legislative matters?

[Answer] No. The president recommended that the party consider the matter closed. Our party will have to meet--that is, the directors of our party will meet--to decide whether to close the matter, by a representative vote. Closing the question is a measure provided by law. Hence, as long as it meets legal requirements it is not an authoritarian measure or contrary to democracy.

[Question] Mr Minister, are you saying that you and the PDS were not consulted on this matter?

[Answer] I am still waiting for the question. You are confirming what I just said. Look, this is an internal problem of the government. What I can tell you is that the decision resulted from--rather, the president's recommendation to close the question resulted from--the position he was put in by the impasse reached by negotiations in Congress. The opposition, for reasons it does not behoove me to explore, did not offer a conciliatory proposal or a counterproposal about granting statehood to Rondonia and limiting length of punishment, already provided by law, of labor-union leaders. It was I who informed the president of the impossibility of reconciling negotiations, due to the impasse. And it was because of the impasse that the president, in exercising his function as head of the government and as the person responsible for the liberalization process, recommended to our party the measures that have now become common knowledge.

[Question] Who caused the dialogue to collapse--the government, the opposition or the PDS?

[Answer] I would not say "who caused the collapse." But the opposition could not accept the government proposal and the government was not in a position to neglect

certain problems of fundamental importance, such as setting the date for elections. This is a problem of the government--the government wants to set the date. It proposed setting the date to the opposition. The government is committed to holding elections; it proposed to the opposition a date for holding the elections. It also proposed statehood for Rondonia. Statehood would not benefit the government; it would benefit the people. And, as I said, it also proposed limiting punishment of labor-union leaders. Nor is the limitation for the benefit of the government; it is for the benefit of the labor leaders. But even so the opposition was not in a position to accept the proposal. This is not a criticism; it is a statement of fact. I am in no position to inquire into what situations opposition leaders had to face that led to the impasse at which we arrived.

[Question] In closing debate on the question, hadn't the president come to the conclusion that the party had no political leadership?

[Answer] No, he reached the conclusion that it was impossible to negotiate with the opposition. And it is so true that the party has leadership that it is the leadership of the party that will meet to close the question and lead congressional voting on the bill.

[Question] Some opposition sources would like to negotiate return of multicandidate slates in exchange for linked voting.

[Answer] I reject that possibility. Congress has already voted on multicandidate slates.

[Question] Mr Minister, would the government acquiesce to party mergers?

[Answer] Party mergers don't depend upon the government; they depend upon the opposition parties.

8834

CSO: 3001/44

PATIENCE, ORATORICAL SKILL PROPEL ABI-ACKEL TO CABINET POST

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 29 Nov 81 p 5

[Article by M.M.: "The Uncertain Future of Abi-Ackel's Career"]

[Text] Brasilia--From unknown leader to one of the politicians receiving the most attention from the press during the last 2 years, Justice Minister Ibrahim Abi-Ackel remains an ill-defined personality. By a few votes he arrived in the Chamber of Deputies for the first time through a substitution process and during his second term he was introduced to his predecessor [as justice minister], Petronio Portella, who in turn took him to the then all-powerful Minister Colbery do Couto e Silva.

An excellent orator, he got along well with Petronio during meetings in which the late justice minister encouraged brief speeches. A great admirer of oratory, Petronio grew closer to Abi-Ackel and admitted to friends his admiration for that descendent of Lebanese who, overwhelmed by his parents' difficulty in expressing themselves in Portuguese, made a strenuous effort to overcome this immigrant handicap.

Friends, they once had common enemies. One of them, formerly president of ARENA [National Renewal Alliance] and now president of the PDS [Social Democratic Party], Senator Jose Sarney, was ridiculed by Petronio and more than once had to wait longer than necessary in his reception room. Sarney was aware of the hostility behind the waiting and Petronio even said on one occasion that he felt "a physical loathing" for the senator, now immortalized by the Brazilian Academy of Letters.

Petronio, in the same way he had been "discovered" by Felinto Muller, becoming part of the most influential ARENA group, intended to back the career of Abi-Ackel, in whom he saw the character traits, political skills and speaking ability needed to be leader of the government party in the Chamber of Deputies.

This simple preference would hardly have turned Sarney against Abi-Ackel, were it not for one of the Minas Gerais deputy's rare outbursts in which he called the ARENA president and its secretary general, Prisco Viana, liars in so many words. This is because Sarney, disagreeing with Petronio Portella, spread in Congress the idea, at the time of party reform, that the majority of the government party's deputies preferred creation of two parties supporting the government.

Abi-Ackel came out in support of Petronio's idea, whose strategy included creation of a "trustworthy" opposition party, which eventually had his initials as its own: PP [Popular Party]. At the time Petronio called the multicandidate slate "superfluous" in a multiparty system and Abi-Ackel once again appeared timidly in the news as a supporter of the same viewpoint, although stressing that the transitional phase through which the nation was passing justified the anomalous use of the "superfluous" device for the 1982 elections only.

Abi-Ackel, who comes from the PSD [pre-1964 Social Democratic Party], was ready to join the PP, or at least seriously threatening to do so, because he was up against internal opposition in the Minas Gerais party, dominated by former UDN [National Democratic Union] members Francelino Pereira and Aureliano Chaves; Sarney had also belonged to the UDN.

Petronio dies. The nation's political course changes. To its surprise the political world saw on the front page for many weeks the broad smile, bald pate and discreet elegance of Abi-Ackel, transformed into minister of justice. His biggest problem at first, and one that pursues him to this day, was taking the place of the man who was considered the leading contemporary politician. Everyone saw in Petronio Portella the future first post-1964 civilian president.

Discretion, patience and a great capacity for disregarding insulting behavior that Petronio would not have permitted characterized Abi-Ackel's first phase. Petronio's political maneuvers were now in full swing and it is not known what has been left to his known heirs.

Also taken by surprise, Abi-Ackel had no plans and limited himself to complying with the decisions of Planalto Palace while he was preparing his own line of action. One of the priorities he established immediately was strengthening the legislative branch, with which he would strengthen himself and keep in constant touch with politicians of all parties.

As his statements do not have an incisive and clear style and because the first part of last year was a period of relative calm, after approval of amnesty and the end of the two-party system, Abi-Ackel was considered a puppet of Planalto Palace and the mouthpiece of Minister Golbery. His image was further marred by one of the first bills passed during his administration, the draconian Foreigners Law, and by having to cope with the ebbing of censorship, liberalized by Petronio.

A temperamental person, he had to cope with a hostile climate on the part of the press, especially the reporters covering his ministry, whom he often treated rudely, although interspersed with periods of cordiality. He made quite clear to journalists, and frequently still does, his displeasure in being compared with his predecessor.

Always consulting the old Minas Gerais PSD politician Pío Canedo, whom he considers his political "guru," he decided to project his own image and course of action through "dialogue," "negotiation" and "transaction." And by persisting in this he was able to reach an agreement in the negotiations to change the Foreigners Law. It was his big success. He conspicuously visited the major representatives of the opposition and the Justice Ministry opened its doors for the first time to Ulysses Guimarães, Tancredo Neves, Airton Soares and, significantly, the formerly cassated and exiled Leonel Brizola.

In the meantime, however, Abi-Ackel "forgot" to consult his own party and Sarney in protest again began to harass him and try to disrupt the agreements. Opposition leaders (Roberto Freire, Marcelo Cerqueira, Airton Soares, Alceu Collares and others) quickly rose to defend Abi-Ackel, who promoted political negotiation as the best way to conduct President Figueiredo's promised liberalization.

But Abi-Ackel's dialog was also full of charges. While showing much cordiality to the CNBB [National Conference of Brazilian Bishops], one of the key elements in negotiations about foreigners, he was setting traps for Dom Luciano Mendes, CNBB secretary general who often did not want to be seen in the Justice Ministry. Abi-Ackel's staff would even wake up newsmen in the morning to inform them of a "secret" meeting. In this way they got revenge against statements by Dom Luciano and others, against whom they also made charges, always off the record.

After this dialogue, which also had to be extended to some "hardline" elements of the government, Abi-Ackel began negotiating electoral reform, assigned to him by the president of the republic. In Figueiredo's absence the PDS president tried once again to upset the justice minister, under the watchful eye of ex-UDN Aureliano Chaves, acting president. When Figueiredo returned to the helm, Abi-Ackel was officially made the government's political coordinator. After a week of "glory," alleging the opposition's inflexibility, he announced the president's decision to suspend negotiations.

Well-informed sources within the Justice Ministry believe Abi-Ackel knew all along about the president's "long-planned" decision and gave no hint that negotiations would not reach an agreement until 2 days before the formal announcement, when he accused the opposition of not being fair, of being very hostile and, especially, having so many internal differences as to prevent a common proposal. He still tried, in a discreet meeting with Tancredo Neves, to get the latter to force a bigger concession from the opposition. He did not succeed. When he met with the opposition at the beginning of the week, Abi-Ackel probably already knew what Planalto's reply would be.

Will Abi-Ackel, a politician who considers his greatest asset to be his ability to discuss and negotiate, be able to return to the negotiating table, with whomever it may be?

8834

CSO: 3001/44

INFLATION DROPS BELOW 100 PERCENT FOR FIRST TIME IN 16 MONTHS

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 4 Dec 81 p 25

[Text] Rio de Janeiro--November's inflation rate was 5.3 percent, increasing the cumulative rate for this year to 88.1 percent and reducing to 99.1 percent the rate for the latest 12 months, which fell below 100 percent for the first time in 16 months. The data were reported yesterday by the Brazilian Institute of Economics of the Getulio Vargas Foundation [FGV], which pointed out that the November rate was almost 1 percentage point higher than that of October, although well below the 7.6 percent recorded in November last year.

For its part, the Consumer Price Index for the City of Rio de Janeiro--one of the components for computing inflation--was 4.6 percent in November (91.3 percent for the year and 107 percent in the latest 12 months), with the increase concentrated in the following groups: public services (6.8 percent), housing (6 percent), personal services (6 percent), health care and hygiene (5.1 percent), apparel (4.1 percent), household articles (3.1 percent) and food (3.1 percent).

Although increasing less than the average, food was responsible for about 29 percent of the higher cost of living in Rio due to its large share of household budgets. According to the FGV, the biggest increases in this group were for onions (65.5 percent), lettuce (33.3 percent), avocados (20.2 percent), pears (18.4 percent), rice pudding (17.9 percent), apples (17.5 percent), corned beef (17.1 percent) and ham (16.8 percent).

But the price increases that had the greatest influence on the index were those of "yellow" rice, responsible for 3.27 percent of the increase in the cost of living, onions (2.83 percent), "needle" rice (2.21 percent), corned beef (1.93 percent), refined sugar (1.8 percent), eggs (1.8 percent), dressed chicken (1.58 percent) and sandwiches (1.49 percent).

The Wholesale Price Index rose 5.9 percent in November--87.8 percent for the year so far and 97.4 percent for the latest 12 months--also a greater increase than that of October. The rise is explained by the increase of 5.5 percent in wholesale food prices, 5.9 percent in raw materials and 3.3 percent in building materials.

The products whose wholesale prices rose most were onions (72.7 percent), automatically-fed flat machines (37.1 percent), Brazil nuts (33.2 percent), sweet potatoes (32.1 percent), special steel bars more than 80 mm (29.7 percent), seamless steel

tubes (28.7 percent), lemons (22.9 percent) and women's stockings (20.6 percent). But the increases that had the greatest influence on the index were those for corn (13.66 percent), crude oil (7.68 percent), processed rice (4.8 percent), onions (4.01 percent), gasoline (3.77 percent), cotton cloth (3.5 percent), cloth of artificial fibers (3.35 percent) and cigarettes (2.58 percent).

The Construction Cost Index in the city of Rio de Janeiro showed a 3.3 percent increase in November--80.5 percent so far this year and 89.5 percent in the last 12 months--including, according to the FGV, a 2.7 percent increase in labor cost and a 3.8 percent increase in building materials, also rates higher than those of October.



Inflation: Change in Monthly Rates (Last 12 Months)

Key:

1. Cumulative Inflation for 12 Months: 99.1 percent
2. Cumulative Inflation for 11 Months: 88.1 percent

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CSO: 3001/44

LIBERALIZATION PROCESS ANALYZED

PY092219 Rio de Janeiro JORNAL DO BRASIL in Portuguese 1 Dec 81 p 2

["Castello's Column" by Carlos Castello Branco: "The Keys to Political Opening"]

[Excerpt] According to theoreticians, the key to liberalization is to keep initiatives and the process under control by the dominant group, control measures can be reduced but overall control must not be lost because, otherwise, liberalization will precipitate the transfer of the government along with the premature liquidation of the dominant system. The group in the government must make concessions, liberalize gradually, but never give the impression that it is giving in to external pressures nor that it is acquiescing to hardline internal pressures.

Liberalization is not yet democratization, but a road that may or may not lead to democratization. Liberalization is intended to create stable institutions through which government succession can occur without risking a retreat to past situations declared unsatisfactory, such as the situation prior to 1964 in Brazil. President Geisel conducted the liberalization process through pressures and counterpressures, but general Figueiredo made the objective explicit which was only implicit in the policy of his predecessor: installing a democratic regime in Brazil.

Although the objective has been made explicit, the process continues to be just a process of liberalization. It is not a democratization process yet. Some similarities can be pointed out to show the identity between the behavior of the two governments that have promoted liberalization. President Geisel held free elections in 1974, but he had to intervene in the process both in 1976 and 1978 to avert loss of control by the government. He appointed senators who became known as "bionic" senators and altered the composition of the electoral college, in addition to eliminating freedom of campaigning over radio and television. These measures came to be known as the "April package." But, on the other hand, Geisel also stood up to pressures from the hardline. In Sao Paulo the first corpse (Herzog) which was exhibited in defiance by the repressive apparatus only provoked a warning visit by the president. The second corpse (Fiel) prompted General Geisel to dismiss the commander of the second army. In the same line of action, Geisel cashiered his army minister.

The Geisel government did away with the institutional acts and abolished the two-party system to break up the opposition and improve the chances of the progovernment party. President Figueiredo took a step forward by granting amnesty and consolidating the practice of freedom of the press. But repeated warnings by the hardline which exploded a series of bombs around the country--the last one at the Riocentro--halted the impetus of the president's liberal manifestations. The government ranks lost some substance with the resignation of Gen Golbery do Couto e Silva who became a dissenter. The apparent acquiescence of President Figueiredo in the hardline brought about a compromise that is obvious by now: as of yesterday, seven months have gone by without a bomb explosion.

Extreme reactions, which imply a backtracking but no cancellation of the liberalization plan, occur every time the government finds itself under uncontrollable pressure from the opposition. In April 1977, congress turned down bills submitted by President Geisel and it became obvious that, with the two-third quorum requirement, the government had to negotiate every item of the constitutional reform it wanted to implement. The "April package" took care of the situation. It made electoral conditions more difficult and reduced to zero the possibility of interference by the Brazilian Democratic Movement [MDB] in the management of the liberalization process. In 1981, President Figueiredo lost control in congress which did not pass the bill he submitted on "intraparty subgroups" [sublegendas] for gubernatorial elections and imposed conditions for the approval of other measures he proposed. The reaction was a "new package" which revitalized the principle of party loyalty [by banning discussion on bills to PDS congressmen] and the constitutional time-limit mechanism for approving bills without congressional vote [decurso de Prazo).

The dismay the new package created was great, but not as much as that created by the shock treatment of the "April package." The opposition has not yet defined its attitude toward this new package. The merging of parties is an unviable proposal. Defeating the package, a hypothesis that cannot be discarded, involves the greater risk of provoking a more brusque reaction by the system. Negotiating a softening would be a more logical approach but this will only be possible as weeks pass by and to the extent that new spokesmen with the capacity to resume talks emerged. For the opposition and for the country, the important and essential point is to go to elections, to hold the elections, and to make possible the pronouncement of the electorate through the ballots. This pronouncement might not have all the effectiveness the opposition hopes for, but it will be a new element capable of changing the picture.

CSO: 3001/47

PCB PUBLISHES BOOK OF DOCUMENTS; PARTY SPLIT IN SAO PAULO

Public Introduction of Book

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 29 Nov 81 p 2

[Text] In Sao Paulo Tuesday evening the Brazilian Communist Party [PCB] will introduce a book containing all party documents published between 1974 and 1981. According to the invitation distributed by the Commission for Legalization of the PCB, the event will be attended by Paulo Egydio Martins, former governor of the state; Guacu Piteri, mayor of Osasco; Mario Covas, regional PMDB [Brazilian Democratic Mobilization Party] president; Ivete Vargas, PTB [Brazilian Labor Party] president; Marcos Aurelio Ribeiro, PT [Workers Party] leader in the Assembly; and Giocondo Dias, secretary general of the Brazilian Communist Party.

The book, published by Editora Ciencias Humanas, is called "The PCB in Sao Paulo: Documents (1974-1981)" and, according to the invitation, "is a collection of documents by Sao Paulo communists referring to the period when democratic resistance advanced and the process of political liberalization was begun in Brazil." Moreover, according to the same message, the book "presents significant material for analyzing the decade of the 70's in our country, represents a source of information about the PCB's recent history and is an important step for legalizing it, the oldest political party in Brazil."

The special guests at the affair will participate in a panel discussion with the subject "Liberalization and the Sao Paulo Communists," beginning at 1900 hours on 2 December in the auditorium of the Professional Journalists Union of the State of Sao Paulo, at 530 Rego Freitas Street.

Chapters

The publication is organized and introduced by Marco Aurelio Nogueira, David Capistrano Filho and Claudio Guedes and is divided into six chapters: "Before the Declines of 1975," "Reorganization of the PCB in Sao Paulo, First Steps," "Sao Paulo Communists and the Working-Class and Labor Movement," "Sao Paulo Communists, University and Education," "Struggle for PCB Unity" and "The 1981 State Conference."

Dissidents Expelled

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 4 Dec 81 p 2

[Text] Another crisis has struck the Brazilian Communist Party in Sao Paulo, leading to expulsion of several members and an exchange of accusations between the two factions that have been formed. This split is reported in a recent document of the PCB itself titled "Communique No. 2," distributed to Sao Paulo communists.

Signed by the party's state committee, the document replies to criticism by the dissident wing at the same time it accuses members of this faction of not following the party line on various occasions. The dissident communists, the communique charges, voted against admitting Janio Quadros to PMDB membership at a meeting of that opposition party's district directors, refused to support the candidacy of Joaquim dos Santos Andrade in the Sao Paulo Metalworkers Union election and published a document opposing official PCB support for Senator Franco Montoro's candidacy for governor of Sao Paulo.

After calling upon "all party organizations of the State to be alert for a new factionalist plot that is being planned involving a certain number of comrades and some organizations," the document concludes asserting that the state committee will continue "assuring internal democracy, as it has been doing, correctly applying democratic centralism and statutory principles."

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CSO: 3001/44

PRESENCE IN ANTARCTIC DEFENDED; NAVY SEEKS ANOTHER SHIP

Bases for Claims

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 4 Dec 81 p 12

[Text] Rio de Janeiro--"Brazil's presence in Antarctica and the southern seas cannot be postponed." The statement was made yesterday at the Brazilian Agriculture Society in Rio de Janeiro by Col Elber de Mello Henriques during a speech attended by representatives of the armed forces and politicians of the PDS [Social Democratic Party], and supports the scientific expedition that Brazil will send to the Antarctic in 1982.

According to Colonel Mello Henriques, "Brazil only knows about the Antarctic what was told us and it has become more necessary than ever to have our own experience." China, FRG, Australia and Argentina are already advanced in their preparation for exploring the Antarctic, he reported.

"The Chinese Government will establish as soon as possible a permanent research station in the Antarctic; West Germany has just approved a budget of 385 million marks for scientific research and development of krill (crustacean species); Australia approved a budget of 20 million pounds sterling for reequipping its stations; and Argentina finished studies for building an airport for transpolar flight, which will operate throughout the year. All this is very significant," he emphasized.

According to Colonel Mello Henriques, the progress of mankind, the constantly denser population of the Southern Hemisphere and a demand for food that covers all oceans are the causes of the attention now being given the Antarctic, as well as territorial claims founded on the principles of discovery, geographic proximity, security, frontage, economic use, scientific activity and permanent occupation. "Brazil meets some of these principles and will meet others in the near future," he said in his speech.

For the principle of discovery, he cited the letter of Amerigo Vespucci to Dom Manoel revealing that he had arrived at the South Pole--"Under the terms of our independence, the Portuguese government declared us the heirs to its rights in the Western Hemisphere, so we may invoke the right of discovery." The statement that Brazil is the largest and most populous country of the Southern Hemisphere with the longest coastline facing the Antarctic Ocean justifies the principle of

geographic proximity; vital interest in South Atlantic shipping, contiguous to the Antarctic, justifies the principle of security; the southern islands of Martin Vas and Barra do Arroio Chui justify the principle of frontage which says that all the areas round about would belong to the countries whose lands face them.

In regard to the principle of economic use, Colonel Mello Henriques cites the Portuguese as the first to explore the waters of the Antarctic. In reference to permanent occupation, he says: "No nation permanently occupies the Antarctic."

Navy Seeking Suitable Ship

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 2 Dec 81 p 11

[Text] Brasilia--Navy Minister Adm Maximiano da Fonseca said yesterday he had not yet received any official communication from Great Britain about its withdrawing its offer to sell the ship "Endurance" which Brazil intended to buy to carry scientists to Antarctica. The navy minister reported that regardless of this the Navy is continuing to seek another ship and is now awaiting a reply to inquiries that have been made to the FRG and Poland, which have expressed an interest in selling vessels of this type to Brazil.

The navy minister attributed the British Government's withdrawal from selling the "Endurance" to the fact that Great Britain needs a vessel with its characteristics to provide support for its bases in the Antarctic and to the population of the Falkland Islands.

In the initial proposal to sell the ship, Great Britain offered it for \$2.8 million (about 336 million cruzeiros) which the navy minister considered "a good price." He pointed out that West Germany is building a vessel, also to carry a scientific expedition to Antarctica, which will cost \$90 million. The United States, he also reported, has a ship and is offering it to Brazil but the navy minister said the vessel must be thoroughly overhauled to be used in a mission to the Antarctic. Poland also has expressed an interest in selling a ship to Brazil but has not yet made a specific offer.

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CSO: 3001/44

BRIEFS

TRADE BALANCE SURPLUS--Finance Minister Ernane Galveas has reported in Brasilia that the Brazilian trade balance had a \$375 million surplus in November, which brings the accrued positive balance thus far this year to \$988 million. While exports amounted to \$2,125,000,000, imports to \$1,750,000,000 in November. [Sao Paulo Radio Bandeirantes Network in Portuguese 1000 GMT 10 Dec 81 PY]

CSO: 3001/47

COMMUNIST PARTY LEADER SCORES JUNTA'S ECONOMIC POLICY

LD042220 Budapest MTI in English 1042 GMT 4 Dec 81

[Text] Budapest, 4 Dec (MTI)--"The socio-economic crisis afflicting Chile indicates the failure of the junta's economic policy," said Manuel Cantero, member of the Chilean Communist Party Political Committee, who had paid a visit to Hungary at the invitation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee and had been interviewed by an MTI correspondent.

Manuel Cantero recalled that class struggle revived in Chile in the recent past and big strikes were held in copper mines, harbours and in the light industry. "A new feature of the strikes is that people take the field not only for peace but they also reject the junta's policy too."

"A unity of action has been established by workers belonging to various parties in their workplaces while party leaders continue debates, and it has an essential influence on the fight of the Chilean opposition. The Communist Party called Chilean masses on an overall uprising in September 1980, and declared that the people had a right to use force, if necessary. Some of the parties of the former popular unity do not agree with this conception, they have doubts about the necessity of armed fight, but more and more parties agreed to the Communist Party's assessment."

"The bourgeois opposition fears radical changes, deems step by step policy advisable and hopes that it could coax changes out of the junta at the elections. It is the stand of the Chilean Christian Democratic Party, too. The Communist Party holds that, despite existing differences, the dialogue with the Christian Democratic Party should be continued and the unity established at workplaces should be realized in the parties' leaderships sooner or later."

"The policy pursued by the present U.S. administration may also contribute to establish unity. President Reagan openly took up the cause of the Pinochet junta, and stripped off the illusions of bourgeois parties condemning the fascist methods of the junta and hoping that Washington would force the junta to reinstitute certain democratic rights in Chile," said Manuel Cantero.

CSO: 3020/35

BRIEFS

AMBASSADOR TO SAUDI ARABIA--At a ceremony held in Riyadh, Chilean concurrent Ambassador Vasco Undurraga has presented his credentials to King Khalid. Undurraga, who is the Chilean ambassador to the FRG, delivered a personal letter from President Pinochet to King Khalid. [Santiago Chile Domestic Service in Spanish 1630 GMT 3 Dec 81]

INVESTMENTS IN COPPER SECTOR--The Chilean Government has authorized two U.S. consortiums made up of Utah International, a subsidiary of the General Electric Company, and Getty Mining, a subsidiary of Getty Oil Company, to invest \$1.5 billion to exploit the La Escondida copper deposit located at 180 km southeast of the Antofagasta Port, about 1,300 km north of Santiago. Technical reports estimate that copper reserves total 200 million tons. The Foreign Investments Institute established that Utah-Getty has a 12-year deadline to invest the capital. [Paris AFP in Spanish 1403 GMT 10 Nov 81]

NEW NAVAL GARRISON COMMANDER--Rear Adm John Howard Balaesque has assumed the duties of commander of the Santiago Naval garrison, replacing Rear Adm Sergio Sanchez Lima who has been appointed Chilean Naval attache in Washington. [PY021249 Santiago Chile Domestic Service in Spanish 1630 GMT 1 Dec 81]

EXTREMIST KILLED IN NELTUME--Neltume, Chile, 28 Nov (LATIN-REUTER)--It has been officially reported that today one extremist was killed and another was detained during a clash with security personnel in this wooded region of the country, 890 km southeast of Santiago. A communique reported that the clash took place at 0530 (0830 GMT) when an armed group opened fire against a security patrol. The dead extremist was identified as Juan Angel Ojeda Aguayo, who was pardoned in March 1978 with the purpose of letting him travel to the Netherlands after serving a sentence imposed on him because of his participation in an attack against a police station. According to police sources, at the beginning of October the same armed group clashed with another security patrol; four extremists were killed during this incident. The communique also stated that the arrested extremist is Isaias Aguayo Marquez, and that his background is being carefully investigated. [Text] [PY022222 Buenos Aires LATIN in Spanish 1181 GMT 29 Nov 81]

NEW GREEK AMBASSADOR APPROVED--The Chilean Government has approved the appointment of Dhimitrios Manolatos as the new Greek ambassador to Chile: Manolatos has his headquarters in Buenos Aires. [PY072322 Santiago Chile Diplomatic Information Service in Spanish 2349 GMT 23 Nov 81]

COPPER PRODUCTION--It was reported today that in the first quarter of this year Chile became the second largest copper producing country in the Western world after the United States. According to a government report, Chilean copper mines yielded 506,300 metric tons of fine copper of the total 3,088,500 tons that were extracted during that period. [PY072322 Paris AFP in Spanish 1526 GMT 27 Nov 81]

BUDGET FIGURES--The government newspaper LA NACION reported today that the national budget for next year will total \$9,347,000,000 and that it will be completely financed by normal income. This budget is higher than the 1981 budget by 8 percent. The newspaper adds that the Chilean foreign debt is about \$16 billion, which means that its servicing will absorb \$830,359,000, that is, nearly 10 percent of next year's budget. [PY072322 Paris AFP in Spanish 1515 GMT 2 Dec 81]

COPPER SALES--Santiago, Chile, 4 Dec (AFP)--The Chilean Copper Commission has reported that copper sales during the last 12 months are \$400 million less than the same period last year. Copper sales from January to October 1980 reached \$2.03 billion as compared to \$1.63 billion in the same period this year. [PY072322 Paris AFP in Spanish 1356 GMT 4 Dec 81]

CSO: 3010/473

CFP FACES DIFFICULTIES FOLLOWING BUCARAM DEATH

Quito EL COMERCIO in Spanish 14 Nov 81 p A 2

[Article by Miguel Rivadeneira]

[Text] There can be no doubt that the reunification of the CFP [Concentration of Popular Forces] party following the sudden death of its top leader, Assad Bucaram, will be very difficult and perhaps, as things look now, practically impossible.

The split produced by the break between Bucaram and Jaime Roldos Aguilera on the heels of the latter's election as president of the Republic on 29 April 1979 was definite and irremediable.

It was definite and irremediable--despite the fact that in politics everything has not yet been written and anything can happen--because that split gave birth to a new political party, now legally recognized by the Electoral Supreme Tribunal and known as People, Change and Democracy [PCD], whose founder was the late President Jaime Roldos.

A bloc of Roldos-ist legislators also took shape--and still exists--made up of 12 representatives, of which only four are members of the CPD, while others continue being members of the CFP, since they have neither tendered their resignation nor been expelled.

Still a third group emerged, made up of former CFP members--known as independents--who presently find themselves scattered despite the leadership initially provided by one of the CFP's theorists, Marco Proano, who even went so far as to publish a the book "Yo CFP [I, CFP]."

These circumstances determined the forming of three distinct groups within the National Chamber of Representatives: the Bucaram-ist members of the CFP, the Roldos-ists--among whom there are four members of the PCD--and the independents.

The reunification of the CFP will be difficult because there is now a new party on the scene that inhibits its accomplishment.

Besides, the first statements following the death of the CFP leader, Assad Bucaram, convey a gloomy outlook as regards any possibility of a reunification of the CFP.

But why? Simply because the CFP will remain the same, with its present structures--according to some of its militants--which does not change the outlook, with Bucaram or without him.

Julio Ayala, one of the indefatigable followers of Bucaram, warned that a reunification will be difficult, because "We will not allow those who stabbed us in the back to return to the CFP as if nothing whatever had happened."

However, he left open the possibility of returning for some former CFP members who might have left the party through a misunderstanding or because of some personal set of circumstances.

Marco Proano, who initially announced that he was going into exile and would later rejoin the party, maintains that unless the current party structures are changed, reunification will be impossible.

Ayala, for his part, stated that the CFP will maintain its present structure and aims to continue being the strong party it has been and still is.

Nelson Felix Navarrete, former member of the CFP and now a member of the PCD, expressed pessimism as regards the possible reunification and stated that the death of Bucaram will not reunite the former militants of the CFP.

Of course, these preliminary predictions--purely personal expressions of views, as they were--can hardly be expected to be fulfilled, and one must await the decision first by the National Executive Committee of the CFP, and then see who is actually elected as supreme head of the party, if such is to be the proceeding.

Marco Proano said that it is fundamental to the destiny of a party, in a situation such as that now confronting the CFP, to reiterate the conviction that the new Ecuadorian policy must be based upon a strengthening of all political parties.

"For this reason," he said, "I hope the CFP, as a historical political party in our country, will be capable of overcoming the present difficult situation."

"Consequently," he added, "everything that contributes to the strengthening of this or any other political party should be backed by the entire country, since in defending the organization of political parties we defend democracy."

Regarding the future of the CFP, he said the only thing he could assert is that in the hands of the CFP lies his own destiny. "But," he emphasized, "in my opinion, the essential thing in the CFP--as in any other party--is not the vitality of its members but rather the effectiveness of its policy structures and its principles. Hence, a new man at its head will avail the CFP little or nothing if there is no change in its policy structures made up of supreme heads and matador-like dogmaticians."

He recalled that "A nationwide current of public opinion backed our initiative for a process of democratization within the CFP, which will require the institution of a profound reform of its statutes, without which any thought of a reunification is but Utopian."

Julio Ayala stated that the future of any political party, like that of any other institution, depends upon the activism deployed by those who comprise it; if this activism centers upon specific objectives and adheres to appropriate strategies, then its future will be one of self-respect, honor and dignity.

"However," he added, "if this policy is not followed, logically the institution will fall under its own weight, the weight of its errors. We, the members of the CFP, in the wake of the lamentable death of Assad Bucaram, aspire to maintaining the structure of the party, to maintaining its activism, to promoting the party's growth."

He affirmed that the CFP has been a party that has never backed down from a struggle. "I think," he said, "very few parties in our country can claim the honor and pride this brings."

He disclosed that the necessary mechanisms are being sought and the appropriate steps being taken to ensure the maintaining of the party's position, its history and its struggle.

With regard to a possible reunification of the CFP, he indicated that, in his opinion, this will be a very difficult thing to bring about, but that this is simply his personal opinion, since the party has not met yet to decide on this issue.

"We think," he explained, "that those who formed separate groups might be able to return to the CFP as groups." He said that if any person can show that he or she had to leave the party because of a misunderstanding or because of some personal set of circumstances, "We should analyze those circumstances and reconsider within the party."

"But," he added, "under no circumstances should we accept that those who stabbed us in the back, that those who betrayed the party's ideals, that those who did so much damage to the CFP, should now return to the party as if nothing whatever had happened.

"That," he said, "would be a betrayal of Bucaram's ideals, and of our policy of political struggle, and it would set a bizarre precedent in this country, since that betrayal would be being covered up under a mantle of forgive-and-forgetfulness."

Lastly, he affirmed that the CFP would have to keep itself purged, cleansed and proper, so that the Ecuadorean people as a whole "will believe in us." "It would be wrong of us to accept that unpredictable swallows of the past return to again do us damage with their presence in the CFP," he concluded.

Nelson Felix Navarrete pointed out that this situation is quite conflictual "because we human beings stand by our ideals and take shelter under our respective political banners."

"In this case," he added, "I, as a member and militant of that party, will adhere to the discipline and postulates of that party."

In contradiction with the vice president of the National Chamber of Representatives, who is also a former member of the CPF and now a militant of the PCD, Felix Navarrete affirmed that he could not say that the death of Assad Bucaram "could unify those of us who were formerly militants of the CFP."

Previously, Yanchapaxi had said that, following the death of Bucaram, there is now no obstacle to prevent those of us working associates who reached the Chamber via List 4, and who are today divided, from reuniting our views and working together."

Felix Navarrete said he does not believe Bucaram was an obstacle that caused the split within the CFP. "I believe," he stressed, "that we shall have to proceed along parallel lines within the political arena, as different parties having formed our respective groupings, and in this case, the CFP and the PCD each along its own line."

"In my opinion," said Navarrete, "to reunify the CFP will be very difficult, for the reasons cited. Of course, this is only a personal viewpoint."

Lastly, he affirmed that in his opinion the CFP will not disappear in the wake of Bucaram's sudden death, and that on the contrary it will continue its forward course in our national life.

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CSO: 3010/362

POLITICAL PARTY SYSTEM NOT YET REALITY

Quito EL COMERCIO in Spanish 16 Nov 81 p A 3

[Article by Fernando Proano]

[Text] It is a little sudden and even premature to say that in Ecuador we now have a political party system as laid down in Section 6 of the Constitution. In the view of observers, what we have is a corporative system.

The long period of de facto government the country was compelled to undergo has weakened even more the structures of the political parties, which because of this are having to deal with a process of fragmentation, characterized by personalisms. All of this is hindering their strengthening process and the shaping of a governmental system based on bipartism, with two clearly defined, but strong, parties.

As political observers see it, the country, after a long period of dictatorship, is now going through a transition period between de facto government and a government based on a juridical system.

It must be noted that the Constitution clearly specifies a system of political parties and that the Law on Political Parties is aimed at strengthening them, to which effect the state lends its support and requires that only those political parties recognized by law may present their candidates for a popular election. It requires that anyone intervening as a candidate in any popular election, besides meeting all the other requisites laid down by the Constitution, be associated with a political party.

But despite this backing by the state and despite the juridical norms set forth in the Constitution as well as in the Law on Political Parties, it cannot be said that the governmental system of the Ecuadorean state is a party system.

The minister of government, Galo Garcia, at the conclusion of one of the latest dialogues held with the ID [Democratic Left], spoke of the country as having a political party system of government and said that as a result of this phase the government is now talking and will continue talking with the leaders of these political groupings, forgetting, however, that social forces are also part of the political scene.

The most recent acts of agitation that have taken place in the country have disproved the statements by the minister of political affairs and have compelled the government to realign its policy and to recognize other social forces that comprise the body politic.

The government ended its dialogue with the political parties and found itself having to dialogue with the corporate bodies like the FUT [Single Workers Front] and the teaching profession.

The protests realized by these social forces or the demands put forth by them were not advanced through any political grouping as they should be in a political party system.

This fact reveals clearly that no link exists in this country between its political parties and its social forces. And these social forces, as sociologist Patricio Moncayo says, express themselves through corporativism.

On this theme, this newspaper interviewed two experts on Ecuadorean political parties: Dr Juan Cueva, former undersecretary of government, and lawyer Patricio Moncayo.

Both concur in the view that the country does not have an operative political party system and that the social forces express themselves through their respective organizations--that a constitutional provision proclaims the existence of a party system but that, as Cueva says, "A constitutional proclamation merely states a reality to be, not an actual reality."

"In Ecuador," said Patricio Moncayo, "I would say we are going through a transition phase."

Moncayo, a university professor and author of several books on political parties, recognizes the existence of a Law on Political Parties and that the law is being complied with.

He says that a Law on Elections also exists and that it too is being complied with, but that, for a political party system truly to exist in a given country, the country's political parties must establish links with its operative social forces.

"If the social forces do not express themselves through the political parties, which must also make room for populism, the country does not operate under a party system," said Moncayo.

"What is occurring," he added, "is that production and trade organizations, for example, frequently prefer to express themselves through their own trade associations on political issues rather than through the existing political parties."

He added that the same is true with regard to the labor organizations, in that they are not expressing themselves through existing political parties, but rather

through their own unions; the same is true of the teaching profession, which expresses itself through the National Union of Educators, and of the students, who express themselves through the FEUE [Federation of Ecuadorean University Students].

Moncayo argued that "Together with populism on the political scene there exists also this phenomenon we could call corporativism, meaning that system in which the social forces express themselves through their corporative organizations, through their trade unions and associations.." He said that in this situation the political parties must concern themselves with achieving social representativeness in order to attain real existence from the sociological standpoint, since otherwise the political parties will have merely a legal existence, merely a constitutional existence. What is important, he said is that the political party must take firm root within the social groups whose interests it intends to represent.

Juan Cueva Jaramillo, for his part, said: "In accordance with our Constitution, Ecuador has a Law on Political Parties, and our Constitution says we have a party system; but not everything the Constitution says is true. The constitution says, for example that all we Ecuadoreans are equal. I ask myself, 'Are we truly equal?'."

"But we see clearly," he said, "how in the Ecuadorean sociopolitical reality the interested groups make themselves heard not through political parties but rather through other kinds of organizations."

He pointed out that the outcries in Quito are taking place through student and labor movements; when the economically strong groups of the Right want to make themselves heard, they do not go through the political parties but rather through their own organizations such as the production associations, the building trade associations, and so forth.

"The conclusion to be drawn from this," he stressed, "is that the constitutional ideal that our system be one of political parties is but a constitutional declaration, that is, a reality to be, but not an existing reality, since it is actually not a party system."

Cueva pointed out that the country has political parties and that these parties are duly constituted; that they even have state backing and receive a subvention from the Supreme Electoral Tribunal. "This is all to the good," he stressed, "because this strengthens the parties and they do not have to resort to other types of financing; this is very important from the democratic standpoint."

Lastly, Cueva said, "The sociological reality, the vital reality, Ecuador's day-to-day reality permit me to state frankly that our party system is nothing more than a legal-type, a constitutional-type, proclamation."

MINISTER INVESTIGATES INCREASED TRADE WITH EASTERN EUROPE

Quito EL COMERCIO in Spanish 19 Nov 81 p A 8

[Text] Possibilities exist for increasing trade with the Eastern European countries, said the minister of Industry, Orlando Alcivar, while at the same time disclosing, however, that Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Romania and the GDR [German Democratic Republic] had proposed a balanced exchange, meaning Ecuadorean products for machinery and services from those nations.

With Romania, he said, trade relations have for some time been down to zero, but it is planned to reactivate them next year. This was proposed by the authorities of that socialist nation.

He reported that the GDR is becoming one of the best buyers of our products, starting with bananas and including other products such as tuna and possibly tropical fruit juices. He announced the possibility that the GDR may buy some 75,000 tons annually of bananas over the next 5 years, which compares significantly with the export figures for each of the countries with which Ecuador presently has trade relations of this kind.

On the other hand, Alcivar Santos said that the Yugoslav market for our products has been shrinking during the past 2 years, our exports of bananas to that country having dropped from 110,000 tons in 1979, to 55,000 tons in 1980, and to less than 30,000 tons so far this year.

The minister disclosed that according to information conveyed to him by the vice president of that country its 1982 import budget totals \$18 million, of which 27 percent is to be from developing countries. In 1981, this percentage was barely 16 percent.

According to the secretary of state, our banana sales to that country will total 4-5,000 tons by the end of this year.

With Czechoslovakia, our trade deficit has been growing, but Alcivar said we are looking forward to transforming that deficit into a surplus.

As the minister explained, the proposal made by those countries seeks to establish an equal balance, that is, an exchange of products for machinery and services. They are interested, he said, in building infrastructural works in Ecuador.

This proposed trade and technical exchange has as its object the safeguarding of their hard currencies at a time during their current economic difficulties, he explained, adding that Ecuador should accept a balanced trade agreement because otherwise it will be difficult to sell our products.

At the same time, he emphasized that the government has laid down a policy of aggressiveness and flexibility in the effort to find more and new markets for our export goods. He pointed out that this step is being taken at a time when importing countries have adopted a policy of selective imports and when new competitors are emerging to vie for the export markets.

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AGENCY ADVOCATES CUTTING IMPORTS, RAISING INTEREST RATES

Quito EL COMERCIO in Spanish 19 Nov 81 p A 6

[Text] An effective ban on imports of luxury goods, a stimulus to export activity, and a revision of the rate interest structure are measures being recommended by the CEDATOS [Studies and Statistics Center] to avoid a currency devaluation.

According to this body, the drop in liquidity of the system poses the danger of a devaluation. The CEDATOS information bulletin reveals that between January and August of this year our liquidity dropped from a coefficient of 0.90 to 0.79, that is, by 11 points. This was owing essentially to the drop in our monetary reserve account to the level of 14,063 million sucres, the lowest it has been in recent years, that is, by 14.5 percent, over the same period.

The bulletin mentions that during the same months Banco Central credit rose by 22.5 percent, but this did not prevent the decrease in liquidity arising from a decrease in export revenues and the outflow of capital abroad.

CEDATOS affirms that two alternatives are available to combat the decrease in international reserves and specifically the decrease in exports: Measures that would result in receipt of more sucres by those involved in the export process, without modifying the exchange rate; or modification of the exchange rate to produce more sucres per dollar (revaluation).

CEDATOS is opposed to a devaluation and says that to eliminate this option various steps can be taken, such as an effective ban on the importing of unproductive items, luxury items and items that the country produces or is capable of producing.

It also suggests incentives to diversification of exports and the implementation of a technical and practical campaign to broaden the foreign markets for Ecuadorean products.

It points out, moreover, that investment in Ecuador is not attractive, not even for the residents of the country. Current interest rates, at 12 percent, cannot retain or attract capital that in the international financial markets can produce between 18 and 22 percent, it says.

It goes on to point out that during the 1950's and 1960's inflation reached averaged indexes of 2.2 and 3.8 percent and that during those years bank interest for periods of less than 1 year was 10 percent, whereas today, the inflation rate is over 15 percent and interest rates remain at 12 percent.

Besides, it affirms, the variety and range of legal interest rates is too broad. According to the CEDATOS, there are 19 different rates ranging from 3 percent to 14 percent, aside from commissions, rediscount rates, external loans, unearned interest collections and clearing settlements.

Concomitantly with a revision of the interest rate structure, the CEDATOS recommends enlarging the base of open market operations.

It also points out the need for the domestic component of the monetary base--domestic credit--to fulfill an eminently productive role supportive of agricultural, industrial and agroindustrial development, construction, handicrafts, fishing, etc. It further calls for increasing the volume of long-term credits and seeking ways to get the private sector, which absorbs around 25 percent of foreign credits, to channel these resources toward productive ends.

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LINKS SET BETWEEN QUITO, GUAYAQUIL STOCK EXCHANGES

Quito EL COMERCIO in Spanish 12 Nov 81 p A 7

[Text] Guayaquil--The managements of the Quito and Guayaquil stock exchanges have signed an agreement providing for the use of a "teleprocessing telephone circuit" link between the two exchanges to form a nationwide securities market.

The users of these two institutions will thus have better and more up-to-date information than is presently available throughout the country on purchases and sales of securities. The "teleprocessing telephone circuit" link will enable attendants at trading sessions at Quito and Guayaquil to hear everything that is going on at them. Thus, the Quito exchange brokers can listen in on offers and bids as they are being made by the Guayaquil brokers, and these, vice versa, will be fully aware of what is going on at the Quito session, making possible a kind of nationwide trading session, since the Quito broker can then offer and bid the securities his clients have commissioned him to sell or buy on either the Quito or the Guayaquil exchange, and the Guayaquil broker can do likewise, thus creating competition among brokers throughout the country for the best possible prices for securities on this nationwide securities market.

In attendance at the signing of this agreement were economist Modesto Correa San Andres, general manager of the National Finance Corporation and chairman of the Guayaquil Stock Exchange; engineer Jorge Abad, manager of the National Finance Corporation in Guayaquil; and Reinaldo Guerrero, director of the Guayaquil Stock Exchange.

The managements concerned said they are committed to unifying their regulations and that they are now in the process of codifying them to facilitate subsequently comparing them and eventually establishing similar regulations for the two exchanges.

They also stated they are preparing a regulation to be submitted to their boards of directors enabling any security listed on one of the exchanges to be automatically listed on the other as well, and to be traded on a nationwide level.

They indicated that for these talks to continue it is an indispensable requisite that each of the two exchanges maintain its own administrative and financial autonomy, since they are two different corporative bodies.

Lastly, they stated that the implementation of these ideas will enable businessmen, investors and the state to better obtain and invest their resources in such a way as to facilitate economic and social development within our country.

RESTRUCTURING OF ELECTIONS COUNCIL APPROVED BY JUNTA

San Salvador EL MUNDO in Spanish 5 Nov 81 p 3

[Article by Jorge Armando Contreras]

[Excerpts] "I am not neutral; I am independent." This statement was made by Dr Jorge Bustamante, president of the Central Elections Council [CCE], who was somewhat annoyed by an adjective which had been applied to him by a PCN [National Conciliation Party] speaker during the interparty political conference being held in the Legislative Palace during which a recommendation to the government junta was approved last night to the effect that the CCE should be restructured.

Early in the evening, the conference approved another motion in which the following parties were united: PCN, PPS [Salvadoran Popular Party], POP [Popular Orientation Party] and ARENA [Nationalist Republican Alliance]. The resolution approved a PPS request to the effect that the Council should be restructured by placing a representative of every party on it.

This request prompted heated discussions. The first speech was made by Julio Adolfo Rey Prendes who pointed out the difficulties or problems which such a measure would create: "In the first place, it is unconstitutional, as the Constitution states that there are to be three members and gives the procedures for electing them."

Rey Prendes went on to say that at present there are six parties, which would require six members and six alternates. "If other parties appear tomorrow, we would have to make additional changes and add more members, approve new budgets, etc." Finally, he said that with so many members the CCE, with full powers, would at every moment be requesting the dismissal of officials whenever in its opinion they attacked the election process.

Dr Enrique Eduardo Campos, of the PPS, verbally reinforced his motion to restructure the CCE by saying, "That business of the Constitution is something the Christian Democrats are now bringing up; however, when it suits their purpose they fail to respect it, in order to strip citizens of their lands and commit other violations." Dr Juan Dono Altamirano, of the POP, said, "Here we have no political constitution; it is not respected and is violated at every turn."

Other debates took place in connection with discussion of a vote of confidence for the Central Elections Council, at the suggestion of the PDC. The PCN, PPS and POP

parties and others being formed, ARENA and AD [Democratic Action], gave their support to Dr Jorge Bustamante, saying that he was a man of integrity and confidence and that they had no objection whatever to his continuing to head the CCE.

Initially, this position was shared by the delegates of the other parties; however, in the end the ARENA delegate, Maj Roberto D'Aubuisson, said that it seemed just to him to recognize all members of the CCE but that "afterward the Christian Democrats would say that everything is approved by them." "Because of this," he added, "I will abstain from voting." Rey Prendes reacted to this and said that he was withdrawing the PDC motion; however, the president, Dr Bustamante, submitted it to a vote which produced five abstentions, indicating that the five parties are not giving their vote of confidence to any member.

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CSO: 3010/381

POLITICAL FORUM REJECTS AD'S MOTION TO REORGANIZE JUNTA

San Salvador EL MUNDO in Spanish 6 Nov Nov 81 p 3

[Text] A motion by a party in formation, Democratic Action [AD], with respect to the restructuring of the government junta, "to cause the Christian Democratic majority to disappear and to replace the ministers of labor, education and interior with the presidents of ISTA [Salvadoran Institute of Agrarian Transformation] and FINATA [National Financial Company of Agricultural Lands]," was finally rejected by the Interparty Political Conference.

The Christian Democratic Party, through its delegates, Dr Pablo Mauricio Alvergue, Julio Adolfo Rey Prendes and Julio Alfredo Samayoa, Jr. opposed the motion, saying: "We have come here to discuss socioeconomic conditions and to make some recommendations for handling the election process better; therefore, a request at this time for the restructuring of the junta would weaken the government and make it the toy of our enemies who are trying to destabilize this democratic process." "No one abroad is going to believe that members of the junta, ministers and other officials, out of 'patriotic zeal,' are going to resign. What they are going to think instead is that the crisis here has become more acute, that the government has become chaotic and without salvation," Dr Alvergue said.

Gen Jose Alberto Medrano, on behalf of the POP [Popular Orientation Party], said that his party supported the DC [Christian Democratic Party] because: "If the armed forces have selected them as companions in this process it is because they have confidence in them. Thus we must have confidence in the government which will not engage in election fraud as did past regimes," the general said.

Dr Enrique Eduardo Campos, from the PPS [Salvadoran Popular Party], said that he was not in agreement with General Medrano nor with what was said by the PDC [Christian Democratic Party], as the majority presence of the PDC in the government: "Is the first discouraging sign for a clean election process, since the party in power can use the state machinery in its own favor."

In turn, Dr Nelson Segovia refuted the Christian Democratic Party and said that he was not asking for the destruction of a pact nor for the complete withdrawal of the Christian Democratic Party from power. "You can continue as minister of the presidency, Dr Alvergue; the ministers of planning, foreign affairs, etc. can continue. What the AD is proposing and demanding is that there be a restructuring of the junta and of those ministries which can be used by the government for fraudulent purposes, as the people are now tired of such a farce," Dr Segovia said.

Maj Roberto D'Aubuisson, of ARENA [Nationalist Republican Alliance], in his first speech, supported the AD motion on the restructuring of the junta and said, "We know that this is somewhat utopian; however, at least let it be established here that we made the effort." In his second speech, he requested that the recommendation for restructuring be made to the armed forces through their commander in chief, Col Jaime Abdul Gutierrez, and to the effect that another military man be included on the junta, as the spirit of the proclamation, at the time of the coup was that there would be three civilians and two military men on the junta. This, too, was not approved.

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CSO: 3010/381

SAMAYOA SAYS ARMY RESPONSIBLE FOR COUP, NOT PDC

San Salvador EL MUNDO in Spanish 4 Nov 81 p 2

[Text] "The PDC [Christian Democratic Party] did not effect a coup d'etat. The fact of the matter is that the 14 October 1979 insurrection was the work of military personnel, and what they intended to do was materialized in the Armed Forces Proclamation." These statements were made yesterday by Dr Julio Alfredo Samayoa, Jr., secretary general of the Christian Democratic Party who is attending the Interparty Political Conference being held in the Legislative Palace.

The PDC leader thereby rejected charges that the Christian Democratic Party is coup d'etat oriented. Recalling its coming to power, an event which is now being objected to by several political parties, Samayoa, Jr. said, "Following the 1979 coup, the first junta was installed which presented itself as pluralist, although the ultra-left was not invited into it. Not even the members of the junta itself could agree." "Thus it was that following the resignation of junta," he said, "the armed forces called upon the political parties and other sectors to join a new junta. And within the context of the scenario of violence in which it was living, the PDC consulted its rank and file, accepted the bid and set its conditions. For their part, the armed forces also entered into consultation and agreed to the conditions. Thus a government was formed in which the important decisions are reviewed first by a political-military committee for unanimous approval in the junta rather than by simple majority." "Thus," the PDC secretary general said, "it is to no avail for the Christian democratic Party to have two members on the junta."

Finally, he said, "What is certain is that there will be free elections, as promised."

Dr Pablo Mauricio Alvergue, also from the PDC, said during the conference, "The situation we are in today did not develop from one day to the next." "Social antagonism," he said, "was cultivated purposely by previous regimes. The alienation of the great majorities was encouraged, and the minorities were supported. There was always opposition to change, and cultural penetration was permitted to destroy the individuality of Salvadorans, our own identity, which they attempted to make up for with simple decrees on paternalistic symbols, etc. That is not the way to recover our identity. We have a rough road ahead of us."

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CSO: 3010/381

MAJOR D'AUBUISSON CRITICIZES PDC, PARTY REFORMS

San Salvador EL MUNDO in Spanish 2 Nov 81 p 2

[Text] "When we are able to conduct a real review, we will find out whether the nationalization of the banking system and foreign trade have been a success or a failure," said Maj Roberto D'Aubuisson at the dinner which his organization, the Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA), held Friday at the El Salvador Sheraton Hotel.

The military officer gave a severe critique of the Christian Democratic Party (PDC) which he accused of wanting to install a misnamed freedom and compared it with the Nationalist Democratic Union (UDN), the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement (MNR) and the Farabundo Marti Front.

Major D'Aubuisson drew attention to the fact that now that the Christian Democrats are in power do they recognize that their old friends and travelling companions are communists."

He recalled that over a year ago the nationalists had got a look at the world threat of international communism and at that time warned the people and friendly countries. He added that for this reason they received an orchestrated attack: "They called us rightists, ultrarightists and coup d'etatists; and the ironical part of it is that we were called coup d'etatists by those who were in a government which was produced by a coup d'etat."

The speaker said that in the history of El Salvador there had never been an economic failure like the present one. He clarified the fact that foreign speakers had been invited to the dinner because if Salvadorans had expressed those economic and defense-against-communism theories they would have been attacked. He was referring to the speech that had been made earlier by U.S. Col Samuel T. Dickens, and Guatemalan economist, Juan Carlos Simmons.

He said that his party has the objective of defending the fatherland against communism, with a democratic and representative ideology, allowing power to remain with the people, respecting the individual; in the financial sector, they will promote a free-market economy, will respect and support the armed forces and will maintain freedom of religion.

He refuted the Christian Democratic Party with regard to denying "50 years of the past; i.e., starting from the time when a series of military government was initiated.

He agreed that there had been abuses; however, he stressed that during this period there had been increasing prosperity and mentioned the establishment of the Mortgage Bank, Central Reserve Bank, Credit Banks and the development of agriculture, industry and other sectors.

He charged the Christian Democratic Party with being responsible for political internationalism because it is an international party. He added that this party does not wish to break with those "50 years of the past" but with the constitution, representative democracy and other values.

D'Aubuisson ended his speech with this sentence: "We will be victorious because ideas cannot be killed."

The room in which the dinner was held was crowded and red, blue and white flags adorned its walls. The master of ceremonies said at the end: "We have just heard the future president of El Salvador."

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CSO: 3010/381

LACK OF INCENTIVES CAUSES DECREASE IN COFFEE PRODUCTION

San Salvador EL MUNDO in Spanish 31 Oct 81 p 10

[Text] "The lack of incentives for the coffee grower is causing a serious decrease in productivity." This statement was made by members of the Governing Board of the Coffee Growers; Association of El Salvador in the face of the imminent start of coffee tree cutting "and of the prolonged silence of the government authorities to the complaints of the coffee association." In a communique issued to newsmen, the Coffee Growers' Association made the following comments:

"Once again the Governing Board of the Coffee Growers' Association of El Salvador stresses the fact that several months ago it informed the supreme government that the only way to move the country forward is on the basis of productivity and that it is necessary to put an end to the situation of injustice of having to pay taxes on losses, with an updating of the tax schedule in such a way as to permit the coffee grower to cover his costs or to transfer him to the income tax system.

"The tax schedule now in force dates back to 1952 when the cost was 37.50 colones.

"In spite of the fact that there are many organizations in the government such as the ISIC [Salvadoran Coffee Research Institute], MAG [Ministry of Agriculture], the Central Bank, the Mortgage Bank, Assembly of Governors of the INCAFE [Coffee Institute], etc. which should keep cost figures updated, the government maintains that it does not have such cost figures to work with and ignores our appeal. Guatemala, in spite of legislating through an assembly, has already updated its tax on costs.

"If this serious anomaly is not corrected, there will be no incentives to the coffee growers; and coffee production will continue to decrease in a more severe manner, to the detriment of all the Salvadoran people."

San Salvador, 30 October 1981
Coffee Association of El Salvador

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CSO: 3010/381

FMLN HEALTH CHIEF DISCUSSES GUERRILLA HOSPITALS

Managua EL NUEVO DIARIO in Spanish 2 Nov 81 p 9

[Article by Juan Angel Alvarez]

[Text] Chalatenango, El Salvador-- "The enemy attacks us frequently; however, our hospitals have suffered only minimal damage."

The speaker was "Tato," health chief of the northern front of the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] in the Department of Chalatenango. "The general staff has assigned us eight combatants per hospital for our defense. What is more, we are the first to evacuate zones of greatest danger."

Short and sturdy, Tato studied medicine at the University of El Salvador before donning the olive drab and carrying a caliber .45 pistol along with his stethoscope and thermometer.

In the frontline hospital which we toured with Tato, 13 combatants were recovering from their wounds. Most of them were resting in bright-colored hammocks while nurses and several wounded were preparing materials for treatments.

The hospital is a wood building located on a wooded hillside concealed by branches and dry leaves. The pine trees increase the darkness of the windowless rectangular room. Close to one of the three doors, at one end of the room, a white curtain separates the operating table from the rest of the hospital.

Five Hospitals

The five hospitals which the guerrillas have in this region have had to be evacuated on occasion. "Indiscriminate shelling by the enemy principally affects the civilian population, but us, too," Tato said. A several-day-long shelling of insurgent positions and then an advance overland has been the most frequent tactic of the Christian Democratic Military Junta, which is supported by the United States. "What they want to do is isolate us from the people by terrorizing the masses. To do this, they have used napalm and toxic gases," he added.

105 Persons

"Our hospitals can handle up to 105 persons; however, because we use the recovering wounded for miscellaneous tasks, the number is a little higher," Tato said. In

this regard, he said, "Although we lack specialized personnel, we make up for it in part by using the wounded themselves who learn to prepare treatment materials and can even treat their comrades," he added. "Thus they feel that they are still serving the revolution."

Joaquin is a 23-year-old youth who writes poems in a frayed notebook while seated on his hammock. His eyes are firm and bright, in spite of his 2 months of hospitalization, after having been wounded in Arcatao on 17 June. A G-3 bullet caught him in the lung as he was engaged in an operation with the Select Special Forces of which he is a member. "I feel quite well now, but I still have a bit of a cough," he told us.

We Are Going To Win

While he was recuperating in the hospital of La Canada, a guerrilla camp on the Honduran border, the junta's army launched a large-scale "mopping-up" operation in the early days of July. "We went out while they were bombarding us, right into the middle of the shellfire. Mortar shells were dropping about 10 meters from us, and the earth was falling on top of us." Then he added animatedly: "When I get better, I will go on fighting. I am sure we are going to win."

Tato said that medicines are one of the hospitals' main problems. "It is a big problem; however, we are getting some cooperation from the people. When we do not have industrial medicines, we resort to folk medicine. For example, for malaria we use copalillo [copal] and cinchona bark boiled in water. They give very good results. The bark of the mango tree is used for coughs. Many plants and trees have curative effects which we are investigating and applying"

Male Nurses Improvise

"We have done a lot of work here training male nurses. The very conditions of war force us to do this: however, we cannot train fully-qualified doctors."

However, they have almost achieved this.

Manuel is a peasant who did not know how to read or write. He had never gone to school because of the needs of his family consisting of eight brothers and sisters. When the National Guard assassinated his parents and five of his brothers and sisters, he fled to San Antonio la Cruz, his town of birth, to join the guerrillas. In one of the camps he learned to treat wounds, to suture and to diagnose some common diseases of the region.

As a male nurse, he accompanied a group of peasants who were seeking refuge in Honduras. On the road, a pregnant woman began to have labor pains. As time went by and the baby was not born, Manuel decided to perform a cesarean section in an effort to save the lives of the mother and her child. "I had never performed one; I had only seen it done. But if I did not try to perform one, both of them would have died on me," Manuel said. "By good luck, I saved them both," he concluded, smiling.

With all the limitations and in spite of being exposed to the "invasions" of the government army, the rebel hospitals carry out their humanitarian mission in an

amazing manner. "Our death rate is really low. Only a few of the wounded who reach us in extremely serious condition die; however, we generally save them," Tato said, as he removed the cast from a combatant with a broken leg.

"Although the hospitals are supposed to be for the People's Army only, we treat civilians and militiamen where the health program is still not sufficiently developed. We also treat all our prisoners of war just as we do our own comrades."

With their hospital work, extracting teeth, giving treatments or performing major surgery, the medical and paramedical personnel on the war front make possible, as Tato puts it, "one more rearguard for our combatants. For us it is a combat trench."

8143

CSO: 3010/381

ARUBA'S CROES ON INDEPENDENCE, DUTCH GUARANTEES

Amsterdam ELSEVIERS MAGAZINE in Dutch 7 Nov 81 pp 20-22

[Interview with Betico Croes by Dr F. A. Hoogendijk: "Aruba Finds an Audience in The Hague;" date of interview not given.]

[Text] In the midst of the cabinet perils of the Dutch Government, a summit conference was held in The Hague on the independence of the Netherlands Antillean island of Aruba. The States of the Netherlands Antilles announced on 19 December 1973 that it is an inalienable right of each national community -- and thus also of each of the islands of the Netherlands Antilles -- to determine its own political future.

This pronouncement was of importance especially to Aruba because this island prefers its individual independence. The Dutch Government has never taken this striving seriously up until now. It is of the opinion that the six Antillean islands should become jointly independent and that it is somewhat unrealistic to give an island with 63,000 inhabitants an independent status.

But Betico Croes (the leader of the MEP /People's Electoral Movement/ the largest party). thinks differently. In spite of a non-stop struggle and propaganda war, he has been able to find understanding in the Dutch Government and elsewhere for the independence of "his island." When he arrived in the Netherlands last week with a delegation of 20, he said that he would go home only with concrete promises on the part of the Dutch Government. It was decided within the government of the realm that a broad recommendation should be available within 6 months on the consequences of the independence of Aruba and Curacao. The latter island has come into a difficult position through this because Curacao, for the time being, is not interested in an independent status. And certainly not without Aruba.

But in The Hague the Curacao politicians were directly confronted with this. The intention of the Dutch Government is to keep the six islands together as long as possible. The Hague questions (not unjustly) the viability of the economically vulnerable islands. But Aruba seems determined. And Aruba's independence will be seriously looked into, for the first time, by the (quickly to be established) Biesheuvel Commission.

Question to Betico Croes: Is this study concrete enough for you not to return to Aruba disappointed?

Croes: "We have achieved that within 6 months a plan will be on the table on how Aruba's independence can be realized and what the consequences will be. Guarantees will also have to be stated in it."

[Question] What guarantees are you thinking of?

[Answer] "For us it is very important that we get guarantees from the Netherlands in the area of defense."

[Question] But do you know that the Dutch government has stated that Dutch guarantees would be minimal if Aruba insists on becoming independent by itself?

[Answer] "That's right, but during the summit debate it was said that to the degree there is a solid and lasting cooperation bond between the islands, the guarantees from the Dutch side would also be greater. In other words: the Dutch Government would then be prepared to give more guarantees and support to Aruba."

[Question] What do you mean by a cooperation bond?

[Answer] "Both at the time of the task force of the realm and the round table conference, Aruba opted for independence coupled with a solid and lasting cooperation bond with the other islands, under international law, as well as a sort of commonwealth relation with the realm. By this, Aruba understands the creating of bonds between Aruba and the Netherlands which are such in form and content that the commonwealth structure desired by Aruba will have a content which goes beyond that of just international law. The Aruban delegation considers it of great importance that also after the international-law ties between Aruba and the realm have broken off, a special relation and cooperation continue to exist with the Netherlands. Although Aruba is well aware of the necessity of strengthening the regional contacts, Aruba is of the opinion that a similar special relation with the Netherlands is of great importance to it. This should not be explained as weakness or lack of faith in one's own ability, but should be seen against the background of the specific situation in the Caribbean area. Aruba thus takes the view that the alliance with the Netherlands does not end when Aruba opts for its independence."

[Question] Do you want independence because you are the strongest island? Or do you say: I don't have enough faith in the other islands?

[Answer] "The latter. We have insufficient faith in the other islands and, because we are economically the strongest, we must protect ourselves from ourselves. Lately there has been considerable talk of a possible oil wealth around our island. But when we started with our striving for independence, that was not the case."

[Question] Aruba has 63,000 inhabitants. Is it realistic to make an independent state of such a small community?

[Answer] "The reality is that we do not desire a unitary state. The next question is then: Is a federation possible? We have had examples of that in the

Caribbean area. I discussed that with people from Jamaica, Puerto Rico, Granada and Santo Domingo during a meeting in Mexico. They said at the time that a federation with their islands was not possible in their view. That does not mean that we are against any type of international-law cooperation bond. In my eyes the ideal situation would be for Aruba to become sovereign; the other islands must decide for themselves whether they want to remain a unity. In that case there will be a cooperation bond between two unities: Aruba and the five."

[Question] This shows a rather self-assured political attitude. But what about the economic possibilities of Aruba? Is your island self-supporting already now?

[Answer] "We can certainly take care of our own internal affairs, but we do need a Dutch umbrella for our external protection. Our tourist industry is our most important source of income. But we also get a lot of transit goods because we are in a tax-free zone. Moreover, we also have the oil refineries. Unemployment is between 6 and 8 percent, while in Curacao, for example, one fourth of the working force is unemployed."

[Question] Do you get financial support from the Netherlands?

[Answer] "No direct support. We have to shift for ourselves. We have a balanced budget in Aruba and have to hand over a substantial part of that to the Antillean government. We do get development aid from the Netherlands, however. In the past we received it to build a hospital and also, for example, for public schools projects and the establishment of a container port. This aid consists primarily of loans, admittedly at advantageous conditions, but they do have to be paid back. In any event, Aruba has made known its feelings of solidarity with respect to the other islands on several occasions, including after independence, and it is willing to participate in a development fund benefiting the small islands. But we do take the view that the primary responsibility for the development of these islands should fall on the Netherlands."

[Question] During the discussion with the Dutch Government you pleaded for Aruba to have its own central bank in the final stage of the independence. Isn't this aiming a little too high?

[Answer] "Aruba considers its own monetary policy indispensable as a complement of the future financial and economic policy implementation although it is very well aware that its individual freedom will be relatively limited; the current system does not offer adequate space for the desired bringing in of capital. Further, in the final stage it should be avoided that one island, through an irresponsible economic and/or budget policy, eat up the foreign currency saved up by another island."

"Nevertheless, Aruba is willing to cooperate in the monetary area in such a manner that a joint coin-, gold- and currency supply can be maintained. But we cannot just stand by and watch, for example, another island harming our economy through a certain bank policy."

[Question] If you should become independent, would you want to have a seat in the United Nations?

[Answer] "Yes, very definitely. As Aruba. However, at the beginning we will be very dependent on the Netherlands for the setting up of a foreign service."

[Question] You stated recently that you want an independence without risks. That seems impossible to us in this world."

[Answer] "In any event, we want to limit the risks to a minimum. Therefore we would want to keep ties with the Netherlands."

[Question] Imagine that the study of the Biesheuvel Commission doesn't turn out the way you want it. Then would you still dare take the irrevocable step and say: I still want to continue alone, as Aruba?

[Answer] "That is a very difficult question. I do want to make it clear, however, that neither the Netherlands nor the remaining islands will be able to convince us to return to one constitutional context. But to state that Aruba dares go on alone without any guarantees is a question I cannot answer at this time."

The discussions on the possible independence of the Antilles, and in particular of Aruba, took place in the Treves hall in The Hague. The ceiling of this hall is supported and decorated in the corners by heavy wooden angels. During one of the discussions an arm fell off one of the angels and brushed passed the head of the Reverend Geurs, one of the members of the Aruban delegation. We don't know if this was a good or a bad omen, but it is remarkable that the Dutch Government, which at first was very averse to the independence of Aruba alone, now has made a 180 degree turn. Now the question remains to what extent the Netherlands is willing to give guarantees to Aruba if this island goes its way alone.

8700

CS0: 3105/40

'LA PRENSA' HOLDS CONTROVERSIAL PUBLIC OPINION POLL

Results of Poll

Managua LA PRENSA in Spanish 10 Nov 81 pp 1, 12

[Text] Now that people have begun to speak widely about the possibility of elections in Nicaragua, it is interesting to point out that 70.8 percent of the Nicaraguan population favors that civic solution to the nationwide political crisis.

That figure is one of many contained in the results of a poll that LA PRENSA will publish shortly which was taken last July and August throughout the country by highly qualified people.

This is the first poll taken in this country under the revolutionary government, which plans to impose controls over surveys dealing with matters of state. A government official, Jaime Ocon, has arbitrarily attempted to halt publication of the poll, claiming that the National Statistics and Census Institute has authority to disallow it. Its incompetence in this regard, which we had asserted, was revealed when this official announced that he would submit an amendment to the original law governing the institute according to which "the institute will be authorized to approve or disapprove any statistical research and its publication" (END [EL NUEVO DIARIO] 9 Oct 81). At present, it is not so authorized.

The opinion of Nicaraguan citizens reflected in the LA PRENSA survey is the result of 900 interviews conducted by pollsters who used thousands of pages of notes in the cities of Managua, Masaya, Leon, Matagalpa, Esteli, Diriamba, and Juigalpa.

Without pretending to be a totally accurate or exact reflection of reality, this poll definitely and clearly projects the tendencies of the majority of Nicaraguans.

The poll, it should be added, was conducted according to the latest techniques used in obtaining public opinion.

For example, in Managua the technique of selecting 13 districts with the lowest rate of income and 8 districts with medium income was used.

In the other cities the system of interviewing in 10 houses in a row on both sides of the street, for a total of 20, was employed.

The people interviewed were between 15 and 60 years of age, selected at random among the members of the household.

The pollsters received the full cooperation of the citizens, and while some showed fear when told it was a sampling of opinion carried out by independent people, confidence was quickly established, although not in every case.

On one occasion only a military official tried to stop the poll by confiscating the questionnaire sheets.

80 Percent Catholics

The poll revealed the following interesting facts:

Eighty percent of the population said they were Catholic, and only 6.9 percent said they did not belong to any religion or were atheists.

Also noted was broad disapproval of the decision to suspend the broadcasts of Sunday Mass on television. Out of 721 persons interviewed, 549, or 76.1 percent expressed their disapproval.

Similarly, 70.9 percent of those surveyed said they favored Christian education in the schools, while 8 percent were in favor of Marxist education.

Another 17.1 percent expressed the opinion that education in the schools of this country should be both Christian and Marxist.

In the section of the questionnaire dealing with the most popular personality in the country, Archbishop Miguel Obando took first place with 38 percent, followed by Daniel Ortega with 13.5 percent.

It should be noted that this was the part of the interview where the greatest resistance to responding was met.

Asked to give their opinion on who had the most support in the leadership of the FSLN [Sandinist National Liberation Front], only 26 percent of those surveyed consented to respond, with the following results: 13.5 percent named Daniel Ortega and 11.1 percent Tomas Borge, with the remainder undecided or simply naming all 9 members of the directorate.

Twenty-eight percent said they favored the government or, more generally, the FSLN.

About 13 percent said they favored closing LA PRENSA and the figure was the same on other subjects, such as exclusive Catholic education in the schools.

Other interesting figures contained in the poll show the following:

Forty-five percent expressed some disapproval of the FSLN, in contrast to the full approval they had previously given it.

Asked further on this subject, 22.3 percent said they felt "worse now than before" toward the revolution and 41.8 percent said they were "the same as before."

Sixty-three point eight percent said they had not yet received any benefit from the revolution, and 19.5 percent stated that a "certain inability on the part of the government" could be pointed to as the cause of the economic problems of the country.

In summarizing these figures, it can be concluded that the number of those interviewed who showed a dissenting or skeptical attitude toward the present situation is about 60 percent, or perhaps between 50 and 60 percent but certainly no lower than 50 percent. Those who conducted the poll added the following comments:

Expressions of class hatred were almost imperceptible. Because of its subject matter, the survey lent itself to serious accusations against the sectors known as "bourgeoisie," the "wealthy," etc.

Nevertheless, expressions of hostility in this regard were not perceptible, even among respondents completely identified with the government and its policies. This impression was corroborated by all the members of the polling team.

Three values cherished by the Nicaraguan people were brought out strongly: religion, freedom, and private property.

Not only are the people in the majority Catholic, but they express enthusiasm and firm support for their church and their pastors. Those who approve of closing LA PRENSA are few, even among respondents who support the government. Finally, the number of persons who favor private property are in the majority; they exceed those who favor property ownership by the workers of production units, and exceed by an even greater percentage those who favor state ownership (45.3 percent for private property, 25.7 for workers' ownership, 21.5 percent for state ownership). The above stems in part from the objective fact that the greater part of the Nicaraguan population belongs either to the category of small proprietors--whether it be real property, privately owned businesses, or certain types of production assets--or is partially connected to or has close family ties with such types of production activity. Nicaragua is not a country with a large proletariat divorced from private property and the means of production. Their aspirations, therefore, correspond to what Marxist literature terms "petit bourgeoisie."

This sociological fact also is evident in the sparse evidence of class antagonism found. It is necessary to note, however, that in the true workers groups such feelings may be present in more emphatic ways, and because there was a low representation of these groups in the survey (see the reasons given in the related section of the sampling), these same feelings may have been undervalued. We do not believe, however, that it is substantial enough to invalidate the general tendency detected.

The group that can be identified as Sandinist is not a homogeneous group that agrees in the majority of its opinions. Although future statistical analysis may be needed to isolate subgroup peculiarities among those surveyed, we were

able to note that many who professed to be sympathizers of the FSLN or the government, disagreed with some measures, e.g., the suspension of the Sunday Mass program of Archbishop Obando. They oppose closing LA PRENSA, and they defend private property.

Likewise, the correlation between being progovernment and what we could call "Marxist" or similar tendencies appeared doubtful. Although the majority of those who expressed support for Fidel Castro or for Marxist education in the schools (along with Catholic education or separate from it) tended to belong to progovernment ranks, many of them repudiated Castro and voted in favor of Christian teaching.

It is easy to deduce that the majority of the respondents show, despite all the difficulties, a critical attitude toward the government and toward many of its measures.

Those who responded to the survey were overwhelmingly the poor of the Nicaraguan cities. It was interesting to discover that the degree of opposition or lack of enthusiasm for the government was greater in the poor sections than in the medium-income sections. Indications of this can be deduced if one compares the lower income districts of Managua with the medium-income districts. In addition, there is a greater degree of nongovernment sentiment among the mass of people in the interior than in Managua.

What the public perceives as positive is the tranquility that exists today compared to the past and the start of certain public works and education projects. What it perceives as negative are the economic difficulties the country is experiencing, which interfere with the satisfaction of its needs, as well as violence by the government and its instruments of mass control.

It appears to us that these are the factors, in the order given, that are contributing to the erosion of public support for the FSLN.

The degree of public participation in the mass organizations, including the CDS [Sandinist Defense Committees] is very low.

Our people, despite having suffered a war which claimed many victims, continues to be a generous people. Most people felt it was necessary to be generous toward former members of the GN [National Guard] and pardon many of them (385 persons against 283). Many of the latter, at the same time, softened their replies by adding that those who had done nothing or had committed acts of little consequence should be freed.

This has been the first survey of public opinion ever held in Nicaragua.

We hope that it will not be the last nor the best of its kind. During the course of the study our pollsters were not molested, except on one occasion, when an alleged member of State Security in Managua asked for the questionnaires. The cooperation of the primary protagonist, the People, was always excellent, independent of their political opinions.

'LA PRENSA' Poll Criticized

Managua EL NUEVO DIARIO in Spanish 11 Nov 81 pp 1, 10

[Article: "Slanted Poll Backfires]

[Text] A "poll" conducted by the LA PRENSA Newspaper Company with cleverly worded questions, analyses, and deception which was designed to show the lack of popular support for the revolution and/or the FSLN [Sandinist National Liberation Front] has, as the popular expression has it, "backfired."

Unable to cause a sensation over the FSLN's lack of popularity, they resorted to publishing it on the bottom of the first page with an obviously misleading headline, in an effort to conceal the results, which, in spite of all their planning, were very different from what they had expected. How would it have been if the poll had been really scientific?

Elections and Religion

Obviously, those polled--as the revolutionary government has always maintained--believe in elections as the source of power, and it is surprising that only 70.4 percent gave affirmative answers.

Naturally, the pollsters did not ask whether the people wanted elections in the old style (candidates with names and money) or a true election where the most able are chosen for public office from the grassroots--and without anyone having to sell his vote for Guaro [sugar-cane liquor] and tamales.

Concerning religion, it was no great feat to find that 80 percent were Catholics, and it would have been simpler and more accurate to consult baptismal records, at least regarding formal church affiliation.

Their political intent begins to become obvious when they capriciously describe those who responded that they professed no religion as atheists, which suggests absolutism that does not correspond to the spirit of the question.

The Same Manipulation

Those who persist in accusing the revolutionary government of maneuvering between capitalism and communism and ignoring their "third way," concocted the following question on education:

Do you want Christian or Marxist education in the schools?

If they really want to know what kind of education our people desire, it is absurd to present such a narrow question with the obvious intent of capitalizing on a contradiction falsely stimulated by heavy doses of propaganda in the capitalist media aimed at the people, who are kept subjugated in ignorance.

It was enough to have asked our intelligent people what kind of education they wanted, and we are certain they would have contributed a variety of replies that would in no way have been limited to the constraints of the LA PRENSA "poll."

False Premise and Besmirching the Archbishop

While it is surprising that of the 80 percent who are Catholics, 76.1 do not agree with "the prohibition against the archbishop's saying Mass on television" (it is not known why the rest of the Catholics agree), it is outrageous for them to start from a falsehood, since it is not true that the TV has prohibited the Masses.

Why didn't they ask if they wanted Mass said live on television in all the parishes and dioceses?

We are sure they would have been shocked at the replies.

At the same time we are not surprised that there was so much resistance in answering questions on the popularity of personages when they included the archbishop in a list of politicians, besmirching the evangelical mission of the ecclesiastic in a frank admission that all the publicity they give him has, as its purpose tests of partisan popularity, which we are sure the archbishop is far from approving.

Nor are we surprised at the resistance shown by those polled in giving their opinion on the popularity of the various revolutionary commanders and the admission made by the pollsters of the collective responses, since our people are aware of the unity and cooperation of the leaders of the revolution and the total absence of a desire for personal fame of any kind, a trait so common in native politicians. It is an example of the degree of responsibility and harmony that our people have acquired.

The Heart of the Matter

Reluctantly in the end, they are forced to admit that 28 percent (a LA PRENSA official said 30 percent abroad) are members of the FLSN and that 45.5 percent have "some dissatisfaction," which means that over 75 percent (sic) of their famous "sounding" is in agreement with the revolution, and that it is natural that many (we would say everyone) have some opinions that differ on specific subjects.

If they got this result with all the artfulness they put into it, what would they have obtained with honest intentions?

Naturally, the "poll" could not have omitted reaching conclusions of a classist nature or minimizing the exploitation of our people or asking in a biased and antagonistic manner what benefits the revolution has brought.

Technical Objections

At the same time this "probe" has its own story, and the LA PRENSA Company has already been warned that it was illegal and dangerous to try to influence public opinion with unreliable, unscientific methods.

But since "Mommy" was coming, the IAPA had to take advantage of the occasion and publish it.

A Technical Opinion

Attorney Jaime Ocon, director of the National Statistics and Census Institute (INEC) said last night that the poll results published by LA PRENSA Newspaper Company lacks all technical reliability and that this type of survey is known as "judgment sampling," which permits the pollster to establish "liberal" and "scientific" judgments.

Ocon asserted that the scope of the survey, barely 900 individuals in a population of 2,700,000 inhabitants--does not make it representative.

The extent of the survey does not even correspond to the urban areas of the nation, much less to the total population.

He added that those in charge of the survey did not provide INEC with the mathematical studies on the extent of reliability in their prospectus, nor could they clarify whether the scope of the poll supported the number of questions included on the form.

Ocon said that the manner of selection of people, homes, and cities participating in the survey did not follow the rules of probability, but instead it was left to the judgment of the pollster to select the persons in the house and the house in the cities without making the calculations needed for their selection and the number of persons to be interviewed.

"The choice of cities was also done without following proper scientific polling methods," he said and he added that methodical selection by means of which the entire population would be surveyed was not done, and the participating homes were not identified.

In any event we repeat: the shot backfired.

'LA PRENSA' Answers Criticism

Managua LA PRENSA in Spanish 11 Nov 81 p 2

[Article: "Speaking of Sampling and Surveys"]

[Text] Since the objectivity of the survey conducted by LA PRENSA has been questioned in the END [EL NUEVO DIARIO] by Attorney Jaime Ocon, who asserted that the sampling was very small (900 persons polled) and that the pollsters conducted it in accordance with their own judgment by selecting the persons and homes to be surveyed, we are pleased to present the following details in refutation of the assertions of that official.

The Sampling Problem

The Scope

One problem that every social scientist faces before designing a survey is: what size? Developments in statistics allow us to determine the degree of

reliability of surveys of different magnitude. Of course, the ideal solution would be to be able to question all the competent citizens of the country on what they are thinking. However, this would involve costs that practically no one could defray.

It is known today, for example, that a small but well-organized sample can present the opinion of the entire country with only 5 percent error or deviation from the thinking of all the inhabitants. When the total group (or universe) is large, a relatively tiny group, selected by chance, is therefore sufficient for reaching conclusions.

Today, it is generally accepted among social scientists and international organizations who conduct research that a survey of a thousand persons is adequate to ascertain the overall opinions of a nation with regard to given subjects. Although it may be surprising, the size of the survey that Gallup uses in the United States to ascertain the degree of popularity of a president is 1,500 interviews for a population of 200 million inhabitants. Such a survey carries a margin of error of 2 to 3 percent with 95 percent reliability. Which means that with 95 percent accuracy one can say that the results can differ from 2 to 3 percent above or below what would have been obtained by interviewing the entire adult population of the country. This will be true independently of whether the population is 200, 20 or 2 million.*

Random Selection

In order to be reliable, the sampling must be done completely at random, so that the probability that a citizen may respond will be the same as anyone else. For example, if we take a telephone directory and select at random 1,000 respondents the results will not be representative of the opinions of all the people but only of that stratum that has telephones.

The preparation of the survey should thus take care not to leave to the pollster the selection of those to be interviewed but should establish uniform and obligatory procedures that will guarantee selection at random.

The Sampling

In the survey taken by LA PRENSA it was decided to take a sampling of not less than 900 respondents distributed among the cities of Managua, Masaya, Leon, Diriamba, Esteli, Matagalpa, and Chontales. As is evident, the representativeness of the survey is limited to the principal cities of the country. It is thus a strictly urban sampling. Assuming that the results are in themselves valid because of its procedures, the survey would represent the opinions of the Nicaraguan urban population, which in turn constitutes 55 percent, approximately, of the total population of the country, with a margin of error of 5 to 6 percent, or 90 percent degree of reliability, approximately. This means, for example, that if the survey shows that 70.9 percent wants elections, in reality total response will be between 65 and 75 percent.

* Facts and opinion from the Gallup Poll are taken from CHEMICAL ENGINEERING 28 August, 1978, "Understanding How Public Opinion Gets Measured," by Eric A. Weiss.

The number of samplings by city was as follows:

Managua	440
Masaya	93
Leon	66
Matagalpa	79
Esteli	76
Diriamba	59
Juigalpa	<u>87</u>
Total	900

The proposed goal was 80 questionnaires per city, except Managua. Transportation problems and delays of other kinds altered the results slightly.

As mentioned, the survey is valid as the expression of opinion of the urban population of Nicaragua, but not valid when speaking of any city in particular.

It enables us to know quite accurately what the cities, taken together, think but not to make well-grounded comparisons between one and the other. For that, larger samplings per city would have been required.

We would encounter a similar limitation in presenting the results of groups by age, level of education, economic activity, etc. This does not mean that comparisons based on these variables cannot be made in the present survey but that their results would not have the same degree of reliability as the overall results.

In Managua the procedure used was to select 13 districts with the lowest levels of income and 8 others with medium income. Usually, subgroups of 20 respondents were used. The selection procedure consisted in picking a central or characteristic point in the district selected, for example, a school, bus stop, or church, and from there start east or west, interviewing in one out of every 10 houses along the same street. In the other cities 10 homes in a row on both sides of the street were interviewed until 20 were completed.

The respondent had to be a person between 15 and 60 years of age. In choosing him among the members of the household two procedures were used. One was to draw lots among all those in the right age group, and to employ a specially designed board arranged in squares for holding a quick lottery that linked the number of the question with the number of the person. The other method used--with preference going to the former one--was to interview the person who opened the door or the first one of proper age who appeared on the scene.

We realize that this latter method tended to grant fewer probabilities of being selected to those persons who for one reason or another were usually in places distant from the door. However, since the majority of the homes were small, this problem was not too frequent.

The visits to homes also presented the problem of the absence of those who were working away from home at the time of the interview. In order to minimize this problem the samplings in Managua were taken, with the exception of the first day, after 5:00 pm and during weekends.

Masaya, Leon, and Diriamba were, however, done weekdays during working hours; therefore, we expect under-representation in them--to an extent difficult to determine--of those persons who work away from home. However, we note, especially in the case of Masaya, that a high percentage of these people work in their own homes.

As the reader can see, despite the opinion of government officials, the survey was carried out using correct methodology and conscious of the limitations of any scientific undertaking.

We do not pretend that our results are as scientific as is possible to be. Better surveys can always be made. We invite Attorney Ocon of the National Statistics and Census Institute to do a better one--but of course, letting us have the results. Then we will all know what the Nicaraguan people think.

9015

CS0: 3010/352, 353

ENTIRE POLITICAL SPECTRUM CONDEMNS HIJACKING

PA081517 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1407 GMT 8 Dec 81

[Text] Caracas, 8 Dec (EFE)--Impatience to see the outcome of the triple hijacking, which has already lasted 27 hours is mixed in Venezuela with generalized condemnation of the action and of the ineffectiveness of the security services.

Although it has not been officially confirmed, there is every indication that some or all of the hijackers are Venezuelans, specifically members of the extreme leftist "Red Flag" group, which is of Maoist origin.

The two Aeropostal airplanes, as well as the Avensa plane, are now in Panama.

The entire spectrum of Venezuelan politicians condemn the hijacking, each group from its own viewpoint. This ranges from the ruling Social Christians to the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR).

For its part, the government does not seem disposed to negotiate with the hijackers or to meet their demands, which have unofficially been listed as the payment of \$10 million, the release of political prisoners and the publication of a communique in the press and by radio and television.

Interior Minister Rafael Andres Montes de Oca has said that there will be no negotiation with the air pirates who, he said, "seek to disrupt democracy and the country."

Pompeyo Marquez, secretary general of the Movement to Socialism (MAS), the largest Venezuelan leftist party, has expressed the opinion that these actions--hijackings and terrorism in general--"work against the objectives of the perpetrators."

German Lairer, a deputy from the same party who years ago was representative of Venezuelan guerrillas in Cuba and who is himself a former guerrilla, has also rejected the terrorist action.

Moises Moleiro, a leftist candidate for the presidency of the republic and head of one of the MIR factions has just told a television station that terrorist action "is sterile and damaging to our own struggle."

Moleiro condemned terrorism, "which," he said, "is only justified in cases of war" and said that what has occurred is "a residual effect by persons who have not understood the change in society and in methods of struggle."

Carlos Andres Perez, former president of the republic and a Social Democratic leader, expressed his concern over what could be a plan to escalate terrorism in Venezuela through the triple hijacking, previous kidnappings and the attack on a national guard post which took place in November.

Paralleling these reactions and concern over the passengers and crew who remain hostages is a generalized feeling here that there is a crisis in the state security services.

Airport control services have generated feelings ranging from indignation to embarrassment and Fernando Miralles, executive vice president of Aeropostal, has lost his job for charging that security officials never get up early to check the first daily flights.

There is even a rumor, mentioned on television, that the plan was to hijack five airplanes instead of three, because the terrorists know that in the early morning there are many flights, a large influx of passengers and little vigilance.

The plan for a quintuple hijacking would explain the unusual number of participants in the operation--between 20 and 30 hijackers--who "if they wished to make the government look ridiculous, could have chosen a less contemptible way of doing so," according to a well-known television commentator.

Over 20,000 persons use the regular domestic airlines in Venezuela daily, and there are a great many airports open to passenger traffic.

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BRIEFS

ATHLETES' SECURITY STEPPED UP--Barquisimeto, Venezuela, 7 Dec (AFP)--Venezuelan security forces today heavily reinforced vigilance at the olympic villa where athletes participating in the ninth Bolivarian games are staying. This measure is a response to the hijacking of three commercial planes in Caracas. The three airplanes were hijacked as they began flights to the interior of the country. The Barquisimeto Airport is heavily guarded and police are meticulously checking all those who arrive in that city in midwestern Venezuela. Chiefs of the investigations forces, the political police and the Military Intelligence Service arrived in Barquisimeto this morning to establish an airtight security cordon, not only at the villa but also at the locations where the various tournaments will be taking place through Saturday. Sources linked to the security forces indicated that this is an attempt to avert any incident that might mar the Bolivarian games, which are taking place in an atmosphere of absolute normalcy. [Text] [PA071851 Paris AFP in Spanish 1814 GMT 7 Dec 81]

AERIPOSTAL EXECUTIVE RESIGNS--Caracas, 8 Dec (AFP)--Fernando Miralles, vice president of the state-owned Aeropostal airline, has been dismissed from [his] post after complaining yesterday of a lack of vigilance at the Simon Bolivar International Airport at Maiquetia and the lack of metal-detector equipment. Miralles made the statement over Venezuelan television moments after it became known that an armed group presumably belonging to the ultraleftist "Red Flag" subversive organization had hijacked three planes. Miralles admitted that he resigned under pressure from Transport and Communications Minister Vinicio Carrera. However, several Caracas news media have reported that the airline executive was fired. Regarding the case--which made the front page of the leading newspapers together with the hijacking of the three planes--Miralles said "I was summoned to the Transport and Communications Ministry yesterday afternoon and the minister demanded that I update the resignation I had filed in April." According to Miralles, the minister told him that "your statement about the lack of security at the airports was inadvisable and I made my resignation effective immediately." [Text] [PA081524 Paris AFP in Spanish 1418 GMT 8 Dec 81]

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Dec. 23, 1981